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INTERNATIONAL

PATH TO REALIZING PRINCIPLES OF HELSINKI

Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian No 8, Aug 80 pp 135-155

[Article by L. Zamyatin, chief of International Information Department of the CC CPSU, and N. Polyanov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security]

[Excerpts] The blue bay, cries of seagulls and reddish rocks extending in line with the trees. At the moors, close to the center of the old city, is the fish market; the voices of the merchants and the chiming of bells on the ships are heard. In the distance the old walls of the ancient fort Sveaborg built by Peter the First can be seen, and along the harbor, streets lined with yellow-white houses are reminiscent of the magnificent buildings of Leningrad. The Baltic winds carry the breeze from the adjacent sea. They blow through the pines that surround the white palace Finlandia with its uneven front. At first glance it seems odd, but its magnificent contemporary architecture is striking. This marble palace built according to plans of the well known Finnish architect Alvar Aalto was chosen as the site for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Five years ago, flags of 35 nations decorated the streets and the squares of this city which hosted dignitaries from 33 European and two North American countries.

For a geologist, 5 years represent no more than a fleeting moment; for a historian often a mere episode. For the European continent the last 5 years were the beginning of a new era, with a real possibility to change from confrontation to cooperation, from "cold war" to detente. In spite of the complexity of contemporary developments, of the ups and downs of the politics of detente, of the difficulties still facing the old world in these unsettled times, it can be firmly stated that the Helsinki forum opened a new chapter in history, a new chapter for the future of Europe.

Europe would be different without Helsinki. Its political climate would be marked by tensions that could intensify. Economic ties between East and West Europe would be at a lower level than they are now. All attempts in the fields of energy, environmental protection, transportation, common

for all European countries, would be illusory only. The psychological climate would be different too. Mutual suspicions would produce tensions typical for the "cold war". Finally there are skeptics that did hope and still do, that such a situation might continue. They feel Europe should remain an arena of military rivalry, a spectacle for those who failed to learn from the tragedies of two wars, and a battlefield stretching from the Volga to the Thames.

The period following the Helsinki conference confirmed that the adoption of its resolutions harmed no one, but benefited all.

Europe and the world witnessed events that confirmed the wisdom and correctness of detente.

The Helsinki conference had a beneficial effect on the overall political climate of the continent. No wonder Leonid Iliich Brezhnev points out: "A serious attempt has been made over the last 10 years to resolve conflicting situations and settle arguments and disagreements. We succeeded to a certain extent to overcome the "cold war" inertia. The all-European meeting in Helsinki was an outstanding event in this endeavor. All people in the world, particularly in Europe, breathed more freely. They felt that war was no longer at the doorstep of their homes."

This does not mean that the Helsinki agreements, especially the materialization of detente becomes automatic. No, the forces against detente have not yet laid down their arms. This is particularly evident as Washington intensifies its attack on detente. On its order the NATO member countries increased their annual military budget by 3 percent. Also on its orders, the Brussels resolution was adopted last December; this aimed to transform West Europe into a launching area for a new generation of U.S. nuclear missiles directed against East Europe. Further, Washington dictated a "load distribution" among the partners of the Atlantic alliance. This is an attempt to expand the sphere of influence of NATO, turn it into a global pact, and extend its tentacles to the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, South Africa and to areas far removed from West Europe and the North Atlantic that are, however, "areas of vital interest" to the United States.

Consequently, all serious efforts to supplement political detente with military detente have virtually come to a halt.

The West continues to be silent on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, during the discussions in Vienna. New proposals submitted by the Socialist countries have been lying for more than 2 years on the conference table. Later they were supplemented by proposals to accommodate the wishes of the West. Still there is no response. On the contrary, while NATO's proponents use delaying tactics in Vienna, the Atlantic generals at the headquarters of that military bloc are refining their "Eurostrategy" of turning West Europe into a nuclear arsenal of the United States. U.S. General Rogers, supreme NATO commander is

representative of the hotheads who hope to establish U.S. military superiority in the Old World without considering the hopelessness of such an undertaking. They do not wish to learn from the Soviet-American summit meeting in Vienna, which indicated that serious problems in international relations can be resolved only on the basis of equality and equal security for all countries. If a complex subject like limiting offensive strategic armaments could be simplified by discussions based on realistic principles, the positive solution of the problems of military detente in Europe should be easier attainable within the framework of a "second Vienna".

When the foreign ministers of the various countries met in Helsinki, the representatives of the Socialist countries submitted proposals on all four points of the day's agenda for consideration. The Soviet delegation submitted the draft titled "General Declaration for the Basis of European Security and Principles of Relationships between the Countries of Europe." The GDR and Hungary submitted a draft "Joint Declaration on Furthering Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, Commerce, Science and Technology, and also in the Area of Environment." The Polish and Bulgarian delegations submitted a document on "Basic Directives for the Development of Cultural Cooperation, Contacts and Information Exchange." Czechoslovakia submitted a draft on a "Consultative Committee dealing with Security and Cooperation" which would handle the preparation and calling of future meetings.

It appeared that the meeting in Helsinki received the green light. Alas, it only appeared so. Soon a strange situation arose. The heads of states and administrations in the West agreed with the necessity to speedily complete preparations for an all-European conference, but their diplomatic machinery was stalling and delaying for artificially created reasons. The forces of the "cold war", while retreating, put up a rear guard fight. The hawks in the U.S. Senate reared their heads. Among the representatives of the opposition, the conservatives from Bonn raised a lot of noise over individual definitions in the documents prepared for the forum in Helsinki, and were finding faults with details. Persistence, patience and faith in the success of the cause were needed to ward off the attacks of the opponents of detente. Their tactics had a certain purpose. They wished to divert attention from the key problems of security and cooperation and emphasized false and erroneous questions of a different kind. Attempts were made to force the Socialist countries to adopt, more or less, the principles of bourgeois democracy as a norm for international law. Of course the Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist bloc firmly rejected these attempts.

This is a typical example: The experts preparing for the meeting of the 35 countries in Geneva had barely left when several American senators, Goldwater, Buckley, Helms and others, introduced a resolution calculated to torpedo the meeting at the summit. The resolution openly stated that before any documents listing the obligations of all Europe and the United States can be signed, all the reports from the conference must be submitted to both Houses of Congress, together with the material from the

Vienna talks on military detente in Central Europe. Further, no agreement reached in Helsinki is "binding on Washington" until a satisfactory agreement had been reached in Vienna (which has not happened to this day).

See, how everything has been twisted! Before the documents can be signed by the 35 nations agreeing to achieve collective security and cooperation in Europe, they should be submitted to the Goldwaterites for preliminary examination. What a distorted image these gentlemen held of the existing peace, of Europe and the sovereignty of the partner nations, to prompt such a resolution. What was its purpose? Only to ridicule the many years of European effort for a "code of conduct" for peaceful existence, as expressed by the English minister Roy Hattersley. Or, maybe, to destroy the creation of such a code, or for another reason. For whatever reasons, the violent senator from Arizona was already personifying the American political climate of the eighties, as a kind of national philosophy. This involves an attack on detente and an effort to renew tensions. It creates a new round of the arms race in the U.S.A. and the NATO countries, under these conditions.

As for Helsinki, we would like to point out that this conference would not have taken place without the perseverance and energetic efforts of the Soviet Union and her friends, without the support of realistically thinking political circles in Europe who understood that there is no future in the policy of confrontation. This should be emphasized to everybody, even today when detent is undergoing a complicated period.

Five eventful years have passed since the solemn signing of the agreement in Helsinki. They were years of intense efforts for detente in Europe and throughout the world. The Helsinki forum provided a strong impetus for new, positive undertakings on the European continent. These then developed into bilateral and multilateral relationships among the European nations.

However, nothing would be further from the truth than a statement that European politics had then entered a peaceful, even course after Helsinki. No, they remain, as before, an arena between the forces for and against detente, between realism and illusions--some quite dangerous, between efforts to free Europe from military threat forever and attempts by military circles to hang a Damocles' sword over her. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to prevent dangerous developments on the continent. Her new initiative discussed at the recent high-level Soviet-West German meeting in Moscow should be seen in this context. This initiative concerns the question of medium-range nuclear missiles and the directly related question of advance bases for American nuclear weapons. It is recognized that these discussions cannot be carried out realistically until the Soviet-American treaty on limiting strategic arms (SALT II) has been ratified.

Europe is now at the threshold of a new struggle for security and cooperation. At the end of this year, members of an all-European conference will meet in Madrid. When members of the Warsaw pact countries met at

a political consultative conference in Warsaw last spring, they strongly stressed in their declaration the need for careful preparation and great efforts to ensure the success of this conference. The Socialist countries believe that the upcoming conference in Madrid offers a real opportunity to achieve an agreement on practical steps regarding the military and political aspects of European security and cooperation in all areas.

The new "forum of 35" is particularly needed now, when the military circles of the United States and Western Europe are aiming their poisoned arrows at detente and trying to spoil the initiatives originated in the Helsinki papers and agreements. According to the Warsaw treaty, our country and her allies remain true to these principles. We always considered, and still do, that the agreements are to be taken as a whole, and extended to their widest possible range.

The proposal by the Warsaw pact nations for a speedy preparation for the conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe is of special importance. In Madrid, practical solutions can and should be adopted on the task of such a conference; agreement reached on the date, site and agenda including the date for the first stage, and the need for mutual trust should be emphasized.

Is this realistic? Certainly! Especially now, when Europe is at the threshold of a new dangerous turn in the arms race, when numerous agents in the present U.S. administration would like to inflame our continent with missile madness, when the efforts of realistically thinking politicians to move away from military detente is growing. In this connection it is necessary to point out France's proposal to summon a meeting on European disarmament, similar to ideas expressed by certain West European social democrats.

In spite of the difficulties of the situation, realism in politics not only can, but must safeguard and enhance the success of Helsinki. Europeans have a positive, invaluable experiment at their disposal. They achieved this by a great effort, and after accomplishing it, will not allow it to be discarded by reactionary forces.

Two human palms carefully hold Europe. We see all of her from the Ural range to the shores of the Atlantic, marked with the blue veins of rivers, the snowcaps of the Alps, the hot steppes of the Don. The benevolent giant literally holds our old continent in his hands, protects it from droughts, disasters, military or natural catastrophies. This is a poster. Five years ago, before the Helsinki conference, it appeared on the streets of West European cities. This poster is still valid today. But now, instead of two, there is a large number of palms. The Europeans are determined to carry their much-suffering continent unharmed through the coming years.

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SADAT OPENS DOORS TO U.S., ISRAELI MANIPULATION

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 7, Jul 80 pp 10-15

(Article by K. Dudarev: "Blind Alleys of the 'Open Doors' Policy")

(Excerpts) In July 1952 an anti-militarist, national-democratic revolution was carried out in Egypt under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser. During the 1950's and 1960's a whole series of radical socioeconomic changes were promulgated in the country, leading it out onto the path of independent, progressive development. However, after the death of the Egyptian revolution's leader, President Sadat came to power, and he adopted a course of restoring the capitalist system, overthrowing the progressive gains which had been made by the Egyptian laboring people, and re-establishing Egypt's vassal-type dependency on the imperialist powers.

What at first glance is perceived as a sign of an imminent "prosperity," which Sadat's associates have long been promising the people, in fact, constitutes a vivid illustration of the crisis of this regime's economic policy. The Egyptian nouveau-riche do not hide the fact that they are ready to lay out any sums to satisfy their own whims but will not invest a pittance in building a factory or plant.

Sadat's new economic course was accepted by the Egyptian bourgeoisie as an ideal opportunity for getting rich quick. Numerous privileges are utilized quite often by the "fat cats"--that is what the common people call these super-successful nouveau riche--for a shameless plundering of the national income. If, prior to the 1952 revolution, there were only four millionaires in all of Egypt, now, according to the calculations of the capital's former tax inspector, Karim Abdel Salyam, there are at least 700 of them. Meanwhile, the state budget from year to year compiles a pre-planned deficit, and the funds which are necessary for economic development are engaged either abroad or are tied up in the Central Bank; so the deficit is frequently covered by means of issuing new notes and increasing the money supply which is in circulation. All this has inevitably led to a growth in inflation and an increase in the state debt--both domestic and foreign; the latter remains at its previous amount--\$12 billion.

Through the doors which have been flung open to the West there have penetrated and become chronic such "diseases" of the capitalist economy as inflation and the unrestrained increase of prices.

The hopes of the "creators" of the "open doors" policy and that of "liberalizing" the economy that the private sector would assume the role of the moving force of economic development, or, expressing it in their language, "to breathe life" into Egypt's fading economy have turned out to be completely unfounded. In many instances the Egyptian bourgeoisie has not only failed to facilitate economic progress but has openly hindered it by acting on its own, narrowly profit-seeking interests. One does not have to go far to find examples.

There are in Egypt today several thousand "uncompleted" projects. What is the matter here? It turns out that the secret lies in the fact that, when a contract to build this or that industrial facility is concluded, the private entrepreneur obtains from the state an advance amounting to 30 percent of the total cost of the operations. Greedy for profits, businessmen began vying with each other to offer the government their services, setting thereby as their only goal the acquisition of an advance, and not particularly caring about building any "enterprises."

As regards those who pay the principal portion of the tax revenues--the workers and clerical employees--, their position can hardly be envied. More than 4.5 million persons, occupied in various types of enterprises in the private sector, are being subjected to ruthless exploitation. Wages, which, as a rule, are arbitrarily established by the employers themselves, scarcely suffice to obtain just the bare necessities. The workday amounts to 10--12 hours per day. Social insurance is received by only a fourth of the workers, inasmuch as the enterprise owners have refused to contribute to the creation of the appropriate funds. Labor safety is practically non-existent. The death of a construction worker, for example, is handled by the project boss paying a few dozen pounds to his family. And the wife of the worker who was killed cannot claim any more because in most cases no labor agreement is concluded which would obligate the enterprise owner in any way whatsoever. Under the conditions of unemployment which are raging in the country and which have reached, even accordingly to the far too low official figures, one million persons, it certainly does not occur to an illiterate fellahin (peasant) who has recently arrived in the city to look for work that he should request a contract or an agreement to be concluded.

The refusal of the native bourgeoisie to take part in the development of the productive sphere is explained by several reasons. The main ones are connected with the lack of stability--the principal condition for capital investments. No matter what "guarantees" the regime may offer private capital, the bourgeoisie understands that nobody is able to guarantee that the present leadership will be in power for too many years.

There continues to exist another very important reason as well, which the Egyptian president has tried to eliminate by concluding a separate peace with Israel--the tension of the situation in the Near East. Events have shown that even the avoidance of a confrontation with Israel by the largest Arab country--Egypt--has not compelled the Arabs to give up continuing to struggle for the liberation of the occupied Arab lands and to implement the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Tel-Aviv's unceasing application of forced tension on its borders with Lebanon and Syria in order to compell the leaders of the SAR to agree to the Camp David accords have not had any effect at all, and it has only increased the danger that a new armed conflict will arise in the Near East.

After the conclusion of the Egyptian-Israeli separate treaty, a new factor arose, which also was far from making Egypt more "attractive" for investors. It consists of Cairo's isolation from the entire Arab world, which proclaimed a complete boycott on it. As a result, Egypt's multi-year trade and economic ties with its neighboring Arab countries were destroyed, and the possibilities for Egyptian exports and imports were narrowed down. But what was, perhaps, the most important thing was the disappearance of such a reliable source of financial aid as the rich, oil-producing states, primarily, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. It was precisely these states which had previously acted as "rich relatives," ready to come to the aid of the Egyptian economy, and it was precisely they who acted as Egypt's guarantors, when it used to conclude various kinds of deals and contracts with financial and banking circles in the West. The disappearance of this "crutch," on which the seriously ill Egyptian economy had leaned in recent years, scarcely increased trust in it among the representatives of private capital.

The restoration of the capitalist system is proceeding parallel with the elimination in the Egyptian economy of everything advanced and progressive which had been created during the years of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. This has to do primarily with the state sector. Although up to the present the latter has served as the "backbone" of Egypt's economy, providing about 80 percent of the country's entire industrial output, changes are now being introduced into its structure which are transforming it from the chief weapon of economic development and the means of insuring the masses of people with goods at accessible prices into an additional source of income for the official-bureaucratic apparatus and the bourgeoisie which is linked with it.

The doors which Egypt has flung wide open to the West have plunged the country's weak economy into an unequal competitive struggle with the industrial giants of the developed capitalist states. In fact, the national industries are being eaten up by the mighty, multi-national corporations.

Not only the national industries but also the Egyptian workers themselves are becoming the victims of foreign competition. The Ramses-Hilton Hotel, which is under construction on the bank of the Nile, near the old Nile-Hilton, as well as several other hotels, are being built with the use of

the labor of foreign workers imported from South Korea, Indonesia, Pakistan, etc. not wishing to expend time and funds in training personnel from the Egyptians, who are unacquainted with up-to-date construction technology, the foreign contracting firms import manpower from other countries.

A departure from planning, neglect of the principles of economic development, and elementary mismanagement--such are the fixed traits of official Cairo's "new economic policy."

Lloyds Bank, Bank of America, Citibank, Chase Manhattan Bank--these are the signs on the foreign banks which have been appearing during the last few years on Cairo's streets, and these are the characteristic external tokens of present-day Egypt. The number of branches of American and other Western banks, together with the so-called 'mixed' banks, in which Egyptian capital also participates, has reached 35--more than existed prior to the July 1952 Revolution.

The powerful financial bigwigs of the West are intentionally undermining the positions of the Egyptian banks, and they are very rapidly approaching their desired goal--the establishment of complete control over the country's finances. These foreign banks are used to channel abroad the profits of Western businessmen, when the latter succeed in "carrying through a good deal." The Egyptian "fat cats" also use these banks to transfer income from shady deals to "safe places." Along with this, the Western banks themselves engage in the open plunder of Egypt, acting as ruthlessly greedy usurers in granting loans at incredibly high rates of interest.

The most important weapon in the economic enslavement of Egypt is the financial and economic "aid" of the leading capitalist countries, primarily that of the United States. According to the testimony of the state minister for economic cooperation of the ARB, An-Naser, the United States' financial and economic "aid" to Egypt at the end of last year amounted to 3.4 million dollars a day, and this year it should reach four million a day, or almost 1.5 billion dollars, when calculated on an annual basis.

Such generosity by Washington is presented to the Egyptian man-in-the-street as a manifestation of the "friendly feelings" of the American people and the U.S. president towards the Egyptian people. In reality, however, the motives for granting it are connected primarily with the striving of the American administration not to allow the present Egyptian regime to go under; it has exhibited such "complaisance" to all of Washington's solicitations. It is not by chance that the size of this "aid" has increased every time that Cairo has made a new concession along the path of betraying Arab interests and slipping down the path of separation.

Furthermore, almost all the funds allocated by Washington go to strengthen and develop in Egypt the private sector, which serves the strategic interests of the United States; these are directed at making sure that Egypt's conversion to the capitalist camp is final and irreversible. These very

same goals are also served by the insistent demands of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which serve Washington's interests, for the "normalization" or "rationalization" of the Egyptian economy, by which must be understood the complete elimination of all the progressive socioeconomic changes, which were achieved during the 1960's, the solution of all the economy's problems in the interests of private capital to the detriment of the laboring masses. To make the Egyptian bourgeoisie the complete and sole master of Egypt, and Egypt itself a Near Eastern patrimony of Washington--such is the problem which U.S. imperialist circles have set for themselves, and they are undertaking everything to solve it.

The country's progressive forces are opposing the Sadat leadership's anti-popular course with an alternative program for normalizing the economy and creating a firm base for its independent development. The program of the NPF, as approved at its First Congress in April of this year, proposes an entire complex of measures, insuring the conversion of the Egyptian economy to a path of development which would respond to the country's genuine national interests. It is based upon Egypt's return to the methods of all-encompassing economic planning, the universal strengthening of the state sector, as well as a radical revision of the principles of the "open doors" policy in order to protect the national economy from international monopolies and native parasitic capitalists.

Egypt's economic weakness, the breaking of its traditional trade and economic ties with the Arab world have created ideal conditions for Israel's economic penetration here. The Tel-Aviv leaders have not hesitated to take advantage of this. As a lever to exert pressure on Cairo for the purpose of obtaining economic privileges from it, Israel is manipulating in every way the continuing occupation of part of the Sinai Peninsula. It is precisely under the threat of delaying for an indefinite time the return of the petroleum deposits in the Sinai that the Egyptian authorities have accepted Tel-Aviv's conditions, promising to sell it at least two million tons of petroleum a year at fixed prices.

The possibilities for the economic penetration of Israeli capital into Egypt and the establishment of Tel-Aviv's control over the economic life of the ARE are increasing with the implementation of the so-called "normalization" of relations between these two countries. Within the framework of the above-mentioned process the land borders between them have been opened, airline communications have been set up, postal, telegraph, and telephone communications have also been set up. Sadat has essentially granted the Tel-Aviv regime most-favored-nation treatment.

Since they do not place much faith in the long-term prospects of the present Egyptian regime, Israel's Zionist leaders are striving not to waste any time and to carry out the economic expansion into the ARE as soon as possible, so that the military occupation of Egypt, which is being phased out, will be replaced by an "economic occupation." This latter type of "occupation," as the Israeli leaders smugly declare, is even more preferable for them.

for it allows them, while maintaining Egypt's subordinate position, at the same time to exploit to the maximum its manpower and natural resources; and subsequently it could use it as a "Trojan horse" to filter through Israeli goods to the markets of the other Arab countries. These actions by Tel-Aviv have met with the full approval of international Zionist capital and the imperialist circles.

It is characteristic that the United States has also taken part in working out the project which is already underway for building the so-called "canal of peace," through which the waters of the Nile within five years will pour into Israel across the Sinai Peninsula in order to irrigate the Negev Desert. Herein neither Sadat nor the United States are at all disturbed that it is not only Egypt which is being placed at the service of the interests of imperialism and Zionism. Sadat is "sharing" with Israel that which belongs not only to his country, but to an entire series of nations, dwelling in the basin of this great African river. The transfer of the Nile waters from the continent of Africa to that of Asia--specifically to Israel--will inevitably have an effect on the overall water-flow regime of the Nile, and it will affect in the most direct way the economic interests of other states. Therefore the governments of Ethiopia, Sudan, and other countries have spoken out against the implementation of this project; they do not wish that their interests be victimized by the striving of the Egyptian regime to be a good servant for its new masters.

It is obvious that, having opened wide his country's doors to expansion by imperialist and Zionist circles, President Sadat has put the Egyptian economy into an even worse crisis and has placed Egypt's laboring masses into a position which was unenviable even without this.

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INTERNATIONAL

U. S., FNC TRY TO UNDEMINING SOCIALIST ORIENTATION MOVEMENT

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 80 pp 6-9

Article by A. Kiva, doctor of Historical Sciences: "Imperialism and the Countries of Socialist Orientation"

Text/ During the last few years an extremely acute ideological and political struggle has developed around the countries with a socialist orientation. Participants in this struggle include imperialism, its ideological centers, the mass information media, bourgeois scholars, right-wing social democrats, the apologists of capitalism in the developing countries themselves, and Maoists. (Of course, the roles played by these diverse and different-sized forces are varied, and their devices and methods are also not the same.) The very theory of socialist orientation as well as its practice have been subjected to attacks. Moreover, alternatives to the non-socialist path of development have been proposed--most frequently, the bourgeois-liberal and legal-reformist models.

In the present article we shall examine only certain aspects of the policy of imperialism (and partially that of Maoism) in relation to the countries with a socialist orientation. It is well known that imperialism as well as Maoism represent the greatest danger for the countries with a socialist orientation. For both of them, each pursuing their own interests, are waging extensive subversive activities and even undeclared wars against many of these countries.

As regards the policy of imperialism, it is derived from its overall strategy--to retain the former colonies and semi-colonies within the worldwide capitalist system. However, the orientation of a number of young states towards socialism, signifying their gradual departure from capitalism and rapprochement with worldwide socialism, represents a serious obstacle in the path of carrying out these plans. It is precisely for this reason that the countries of the non-capitalist path have become the objects of imperialism's subversive activities.

The Goals of Imperialism

In the struggle against the socialistically oriented states imperialism pursues several goals at once. In the first place, it strives to discredit the very "model" of socialist orientation as a genuine alternative to bourgeois development and as an example for other countries which have liberated themselves. In other words, it is a matter of attempts to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of non-capitalist development. Testimony to the correctness of the latter is provided by the fact that the number of countries with a socialist orientation is constantly rising. In the second place, imperialism strives to debunk the ideas of socialism in the area of the national-liberation movement, to prove their non-adaptability to local conditions, to subvert the authority of genuine socialism in the developing world. In the third place, in the persons of the socialistically oriented countries imperialism strives to inflict a defeat on the vanguard of the national-liberation movement, which is conducting the most consistent, anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist policy, and which often comes out with initiatives directed at achieving complete de-colonisation of the countries which have liberated themselves. In the fourth place, imperialism tries to weaken the ties between the developing countries and genuine socialism, ties which embody the alliance of forces of the national-liberation movement and those of the worldwide socialist community.

Imperialism's policy with regard to the developing countries is not static. It is constantly being renewed and supplemented with new devices and methods in accordance with changing circumstances. With the intensification in the last few years of the tendency to coordinate their activities directed against young states, including states with a socialist orientation, the imperialist countries, nevertheless, frequently manifest divergent attitudes towards certain problems of the national-liberation movement; at times serious contradictions arise among them, as, for example, between American and French neo-colonialism in Africa, which objectively played into the hands of the countries following a non-capitalist path of development. But here we shall examine the policy of imperialism in relation to the socialistically oriented countries, abstracting from particular instances.

At first, not much attention was accorded in the West to the phenomenon of socialist orientation. There were not too many countries which proclaimed their choice in favor of socialism, and they declared their official ideology to be basically socialism of the "national type"--"African" or "Arab." Within imperialist circles it was considered that these "national socialism," which were not marked by any conceptual rigor or well-defined social content would not pose any obstacle for the development of capitalism in the former colonies and semi-colonies. The American author W. Fridland (1), one of the compilers of the collection entitled "African Socialism," wrote as follows in 1964: "African socialism represents a still relatively empty ideological vessel into which many various ideas can be poured...." It is

(1) "African Socialism." Ed. by W. Fridland (1), C. Rosberg. Stanford, California, 1964, p. 34.

understandable that the bourgeois ideologists planned on pouring into this "vessel" ideas hostile to scientific socialism.

Gradually, however, the attitude of the capitalist countries towards the socialist orientation began to change. This new social phenomenon had proved to be extremely vital, and the number of socialistically oriented countries was growing. Instead of a "national type" of socialism, scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, was being proclaimed as an official state ideology. Other young states, which had also begun to conduct an active anti-imperialist policy, began to group themselves around the countries of the non-capitalist path. The greatest concern among the imperialists was caused by the spread among the young, socialistically oriented states of friendly ties and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries. This put an end to the almost irreparable dependence of the new states on the capitalist West, as well as their exposure to the intrigues of imperialism and to its "gunboat diplomacy."

Socialist orientation turned out to be scarcely a temporary phenomenon, so to speak, a kind of "socialism a la mode," as the bourgeois ideologists asserted, but rather a phenomenon having deep social roots and an historical perspective.

The recognition by the imperialists of the historical perspective behind the socialist orientation only intensified their hostility towards this social phenomenon. It manifested itself in various ways. There was a predominance, however, of crude pressure, a cessation or a curtailment of aid which was so necessary to the newly liberated countries, as well as subversive activity against them, even as far as organising coups d'etat. Well known, for example, is the role played by the CIA in preparing the conspiracy against the government of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, the role played by Western monopolies in destabilizing the situation in this country (also including the intentional lowering of prices on the world capitalist market on Ghana's principal export item--cacao beans). The French neo-colonialists conducted an openly crude policy, directed at suffocating the young Guinean Republic, primarily by an economic blockade. The overthrow of a number of progressive regimes in young states which had abandoned the capitalist path was also connected in one way or another with the subversive activities of imperialism.*

Imperialism Changes Its Tactics

Nevertheless, the gradual transformation of the socialist orientation into an important developmental trend for the liberated countries, particularly on the African continent, testified to the fact that the old, essentially colonialist methods could no longer be used to prevent the young states from choosing the socialist path, nor to prevent the strengthening of anti-capitalist tendencies within them. However, the mere choice of a socialist

* By this we in no way wish to attribute everything solely to the subversive activity of imperialism, or to ignore the mistakes which were permitted by these regimes, or to belittle the role played by the native reactionaries in these actions.

future perspective by the liberated countries still does not guarantee the victory of socialism for them. Development along the path to socialism is contradictory, prolonged in time, and connected with many difficulties, as well as an acute class struggle, and the question of "who will overcome whom?" long remains open; for political and especially economic reasons it is inevitable for many years to retain social and class forces which are hostile to socialism; moreover, it is possible to have a birth or a strengthening of new, pro-capitalist forces as embodied in the bureaucratic and middle-level bourgeoisie and kulaks (well-to-do, peasant farmers).

Historical practice has shown likewise that the foreign policies of progressive regimes contain diverse tendencies; there occurs a comparatively broad-scale approach to establishing relations with socialist as well as with capitalist countries.

From this, imperialism has drawn the conclusion that its policy with regard to the countries of the non-capitalist path should be more flexible, differentiated, and they must be utilized in such a way as not to allow a deepening of the revolutionary process in these countries. It feels that it must assist in all manner of ways the growth there of social-class forces which are hostile to the socialist choice and which are leaning, for various motives towards the capitalist West, as well as obstruct the broadening and deepening the ties between the countries on the non-capitalist path and the world of genuine socialism, primarily, with the Soviet Union.

The imperialist countries have begun to "coax" certain revolutionary-democratic states, to make bets on their rebirth from within, as has occurred, in particular, with the Egyptian and Somali regimes.

On this and many other questions imperialism has found itself an ally in the form of Maoist China; the latter's policy has inflicted no small amount of damage on the progressive forces in the Afro-Asian world. But more about this later.

An important place in the arsenal of devices and means of this policy with respect to progressive regimes (especially to those where Communist parties exist) is set aside for attempts directed at causing friction, sowing enmity among the progressive political forces of the revolutionary-democratic countries, primarily, between the communists and the revolutionary democrats. The ideologists of imperialism proceeded from the fact that, despite the presence among the communists and revolutionary democrats of common goals in the struggle against imperialism, for rooting out the heritage of the colonial past, the implementation of anti-feudal and other progressive socioeconomic changes, these revolutionary groups represent different types of social movements with regard to their social essence, their ideological and political platforms, etc. Imperialism strives with all its efforts to encourage such processes and tendencies which would bring about rivalry between these two groups; they have now trust and

simity towards the communists in revolutionary democratic circles and have urged them on to establish a de facto monopoly of political power.

Unfortunately, the imperialists have succeeded in carrying out this tactic here and there. In particular, the press organ of the communist and workers' parties, the journal PROBLEMY NIRA I SOTSIALIZMA has cited facts regarding the persecutions of Marxist-Leninists in Iraq.

It is very obvious that anti-communist attitudes among a portion of the national democrats and the frequent confrontations proceeding from this, along with a split in the progressive forces, have weakened the radical regime, make it a suitable target for the intrigues of the neo-colonialists, and threaten the revolutionary gains. It is also true that the unity of all the patriotic, progressive forces is an indispensable condition for the further strengthening of the revolutionary-democratic regime, its successful movement along the path of social progress, and, at times, its very existence. I would like, however, to emphasize something else: in such conflicts (between two extremely revolutionary forces within the present-day national-liberation movement) there can be no winners if, of course, both sides sincerely strive towards social progress, no matter how different their ideas may be concerning the paths to reach it. Recognition of this indisputably would open up (and indeed is opening up, as the premier of Syria has said) the path to a timely elimination of the causes of the emergent distrust and the liquidation of friction among the national-patriotic forces.

Among the frequently utilized strategic means of imperialism we should also include the provocation of internecine and religious dissensions. In order to destabilize the situation in countries with progressive regimes, the neo-colonialists have tried to use as their weapon the reactionary elements, the most backward strata of the population, stupefied by chauvinism and religious fanaticism. The "Moslem Brotherhood" has now become such a weapon of imperialism in an entire series of revolutionary-democratic countries. In particular, their subversive activity in Syria during the first half of 1960 assumed an extremely broad scope, but it was successfully put down.

Imperialism has changed its tactics with regard to economic and technical aid to the developing countries. Nowadays the capitalist countries, as a rule, are continuing to render it also to those young states which have entered or are entering upon the non-capitalist path of development. Of course, it is self-evident that the scope of this aid, the conditions of granting it, and so forth, depend upon the progressive regime's domestic and foreign policy, and on what specific goal imperialism is pursuing in the given country. But one way or another, such aid is assigned the role of a lever, to be used for exerting a definite pressure on the policies of these countries. It cannot be said that this always succeeds. But it also cannot be denied that in individual cases this tactic brings about a success, that it affects primarily the foreign, and sometimes even the domestic policies of progressive regimes. For example, the rebirth of the Sennarli regime, its gradual slippage to the right, and--finally--its switchover to the reactionary camp was definitely facilitated by financial aid from the imperialist countries and conservative Arab regimes.

A particular danger is represented by imperialism's attempts to thrust a dependent kind of industrialization upon the progressive countries, to draw them into closed economic groupings of capitalist states. Thus, for example, among the 57 countries of Africa, the Caribbean Basin, and the Pacific Ocean (the ACP countries), which concluded an agreement on trade and economic relations with the European Economic Community--EEC (the so-called Lome Convention), there are also countries with a progressive social orientation. Of course, the conclusion of an agreement by itself does not at all signify the realization of the plans of imperialism to integrate the young states into the world capitalist system, to achieve the establishment of a new international economic order on a neo-colonialist basis. But there can be no doubt that imperialism has set such a task for itself.

It is a fact that the ACP countries, which have achieved limited concessions from the EEC (a broadening of their exports to the "Common Market" countries, the creation of a special fund for stabilizing income from these exports, etc.), have at the same time become more closely affiliated to the capitalist market and essentially to the world capitalist system as well. Also obvious is the fact that, as a result of the industrialization which is being carried out with the active assistance of trans-national corporations, the economic dependence of individual progressive regimes on world capitalism has grown in certain regards, although it frequently appears in a veiled manner, functioning, as it were, as a component part of a mutual relationship. But in fact it is more profound and difficult to overcome than the previous, openly crude, colonialist forms of dependence.

Relapses of the Old Policy

At the same time imperialism has not abandoned the old, colonialist methods of struggling against regimes which are objectionable to it--organizing conspiracies and armed interventions for the purpose of overthrowing a progressive regime, such as took place with regard to Guinea (1970), Benin (1977), and a number of other countries. Imperialism has recourse to such tactics most frequently in those cases where it has no illusions that it will succeed by peaceful means in bringing about a change in the nature of a political regime in this or that country with a progressive social orientation.

We could mention that the birth of an independent Angola as a state with a socialistic orientation occurred within an extremely acute struggle against foreign intervention, which was organized by imperialism with support from the racist RSA and the domestic Angolan reactionaries, which were nourished for a long time by the CIA, as well as other imperialist forces. With their participation active subversive activity was begun (including armed attacks from without) against the People's Republic of Angola for the purpose of hindering it from successfully proceeding along the path which it has chosen.

Imperialism has also conducted a similar policy with regard to Ethiopia. As the revolutionary process in this country became more profound and the left wing of the revolutionary democracy moved to the political forefront, having proclaimed its adherence to socialism, the imperialist circles abandoned the tactics of waiting it out and switched over to active counter-revolutionary actions.

Imperialism's policy with regard to Kampuchea and Afghanistan has been deceitful and cynical. When the bloody regime of Pol Pot and Yeng Sari was in control of Kampuchea, nourished by Beijing, and declared to be "Communist" in the West because of its Marxist phraseology, bourgeois propaganda showed it no mercy. By the way, a great deal was said in this connection which was justified; concerning the policy of genocide, forced labor, instituting a barracks type system in the country, its aggressiveness with regard to its neighbors, and so forth. However, as soon as this regime fell as a result of a popular uprising, supported by neighboring fraternal Vietnam, the imperialist circles immediately "forgot" about the anti-popular nature of this regime and began to accuse socialist Vietnam of aggression, to give shelter to the executioners of the Khmer people, to encourage the creation of bases on the territory of neighboring Thailand for the Pol Pot bands and to render certain types of support for them, to encourage them in their armed attacks against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in order to hinder the creative, peaceful labor of its people. An unprecedentedly broad campaign of lies and slander was developed against the SRV, new Kampuchea, while active and multifaceted subversive activity began to be carried out against the present-day Kampuchean regime.

Furthermore, imperialism, as is well known, succeeded, by having recourse to disinformation, political pressure, etc., in drawing into discussion the so-called Kampuchean question, which was finally and irrevocably resolved by the people of this country themselves, the UN, and the non-aligned movement. The deceit of the imperialists consisted in the fact that, in striving to enlist the support of the young states with regard to the "Kampuchean question," they played on the particular (and fully understandable) sensitivity of the former colonies and dependent countries to the principle of national sovereignty, which was supposed to have been violated by the SRV with regard to Kampuchea.

/But when the Beijing hegemonists unleashed an aggressive war against socialist Vietnam, the imperialist circles in words which approached condemning China for this at the same time attempted to find a justification for its aggression, asserting that this action had been undertaken by Beijing in response to the "forced elimination" by Vietnam of the Pol Pot regime, an ally of the PRC, and to the Vietnamese policy with regard to the "hua zao" (overseas Chinese). As was later revealed, Washington had in fact incited the Chinese hegemonists to carry out their aggression against the SRV. American imperialism, which had suffered a defeat in Indochina, wished in this way to get even with socialist Vietnam, and by utilizing China to shift onto the heroic Vietnamese people the misfortune of its own defeat./ /in italics/

As regards Afghanistan, it is well known that imperialism has done and is doing everything possible to suppress the revolution which put an end to feudalism and the neo-colonialist dependence of this country and which set as its final goal the building of socialism.

But when the Soviet Union came to the aid of the Afghan people, in order to render aid to it in repelling the armed interference from without, and to preserve the fruits of the victory of the April 1978 Revolution, the imperialists (and, of course, their Beijing minions!) began a new round of struggle against the Afghan Revolution, and they unleashed an extremely widespread campaign of lies and slander against the USSR, striving to distort its foreign policy, and to ascribe non-existent goals to it. Without going into the details of the problem--this would be a separate epic--let us merely mention that the American administration has utilized the Afghan (as well as the Iranian) events in order to propagandistically justify its own course in continuing the arms race and subverting international detente, as well as increasing military tension in the zone of the Indian Ocean, creating new military bases in the countries of its basin, stirring up a military psychosis in its own country and in certain other countries--its allies in military blocs, continuing the course of sharply worsening Soviet-American relations, twisting them in a one-sided manner, and so forth.

In One Harness with Imperialism

Beijing's subversive activities against the socialistically oriented countries are similar, to a large extent, with imperialism's subversive activities. Moreover, they are more and more frequently being harmonized and coordinated.

The policy of the Beijing hegemonists has undergone perhaps even more changes than imperialism's policy. Prior to the Cultural Revolution and during its course the Maoists strove to impose on the countries of the non-capitalist path their own views on the revolutionary process in the liberated countries, along with their own understanding of the paths to be followed by them in attaining socialism. Mao's winged expression: "The rifle gives birth to power" (that is, the achievement of revolution solely by armed means), the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat (as applied to countries in which there was never any proletariat, or where it has only begun to emerge, or has entered into the process of its emergence) and socialist revolution (where there were neither objective nor subjective prerequisites for this)--these are the basic positions of the Maoist conception concerning the paths of social progress of the liberated countries and accordingly Beijing's course with regard to those of them which have proclaimed a socialist orientation.

Mao Zedong and his followers (by the way, it should be stated that even then Deng Xiaoping advocated similar positions), arraying themselves in the robes of orthodox Marxists, guardians of the purity of proletarian doctrine (while in fact advocating sectarian-dogmatic, left-wing-adventurist, petit-bourgeois platforms), had already in the 1960's begun to persistently assert that

the concept of the development of the liberated countries towards socialism, bypassing capitalism, which was being defended by the CPSU, as well as by other Communist and workers' parties,--this was nonsense, a retreat from Marxism-Leninism (let's leave to their consciences the references to Marxism-Leninism!), etc.

A definite milepost in the development of the PRC's ties with the liberated countries, including the socialistically oriented countries, was Zhou Enlai's trip to a whole series of states on the African continent at the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964. His declaration to the effect that the revolutionary situation in Africa had already ripened long ago was considered to be a crude interference; it provoked a storm of protests on the African continent as well as throughout the developing world, and it seriously alerted the young states with regard to the goals of Beijing's foreign policy. While this declaration was addressed to all the countries of Africa, the socialist-oriented states also reacted sharply to it.

Nevertheless, China succeeded in establishing ties and cooperation with a number of progressive African regimes. This was facilitated, on the one hand, by the lofty authority of the Chinese Revolution (the fruits of which were usurped by the Maoist leadership) in the zone of the national-liberation movement and, on the other hand, by the promises of the Maoists to render technical and economic aid to the countries which had liberated themselves from colonialism. (These promises frequently remained on paper or were implemented in a cut-down form.) Here and there an impression was also made by the Maoist revolutionary phraseology, their thesis concerning the shift of the center of the revolutionary struggle to the zone of the national liberation movement, concerning the special place in the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry, and of the village versus the city.

During that period the greatest danger of Beijing's policy for the progressive regimes lay, perhaps, in the fact that it was striving to impose upon them (proceeding from the Chinese experience, which even then was far from always successful) its own prescriptions for solving the extremely complex political, socioeconomic, and other problems which were confronting them, as well as urging them into left-wing, premature, adventuristic actions. Well-known is the role played by the Maoists in the Indonesian events of 1965; they are also greatly to blame for the errors which were permitted by the Mali revolutionary democrats during the period when the country was being led by President M. Keita, and by certain other progressive forces.

But it was precisely this tactic of the Maoists, which since then has been discredited, as well as its extremely crude and primitive policy in the developing countries during the years of the Cultural Revolution, which undermined China's position in the Afro-Asian world to such a degree that it is possible to speak of the defeat of Beijing's entire force in the zone of the national-liberation movement, also including the states following a non-capitalist path.

Beijing's defeat led to the well-known revision of its course with regard to the developing countries. On the whole, it has become more careful, less rigidly straight-line, and more flexible. However, the Beijing leaders still place anti-Sovietism at the head of their policy, having turned it into the principal measuring-rod in developing Beijing's contacts with the socialist-oriented states. In a number of instances the Maoists, evidently following the principle: "He who is with the Soviet Union is against us"--have engaged in open struggle against those progressive regimes which have developed broad, friendly ties with the USSR and with other countries of the socialist community. Such a tactic was fully revealed in the concluding phase of the Angolan people's struggle for its independence, when Beijing took the side of the pro-imperialist puppets, the FNLA and UNITA organizations, and it rendered all manner of aid to them.

After the death of Mao Zedong and China's rapprochement with the United States, as well as with other imperialist countries, this accent became even more pronounced. It is well known that the Chinese hegemonists have rendered aid to the forces which are hostile to revolutionary Ethiopia. A logical extension of this line is represented by Beijing's joint efforts with American imperialism and the reactionaries of other countries for the purpose of overthrowing the popular regime in Afghanistan. At the same time the Maoists are striving to develop broad ties with those countries which have departed from the course of socialist orientation--the ARE and Somali.

Thus, Beijing has turned out to be in one harness with imperialism. No matter how improbable it seems with regard to a country which has a ruling party calling itself Communist, it is a fact that, acting from an anti-Soviet standpoint and waging a struggle against the socialist community, as well as the forces of social liberation in the world as a whole, the Chinese leadership willy nilly have come to stand on a platform of anti-communism.

The actions of imperialism and the Chinese hegemonists are undoubtedly complicating the struggles of the progressive regimes in the Afro-Asian world to implement the socialist choice. This encompasses one of the causes of the serious difficulties which individual, socialist-oriented countries are experiencing in their economic and social lives, the zig-zags in their political courses, and their backward movements. Nevertheless, imperialism and the Maoists have not succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the socialist orientation as a broad-based social movement. Convincing testimony of this is also provided by the increase in the number of socialist-oriented countries and the further development within them of progressive socioeconomic changes, along with a broadening of their ties and cooperation with genuine socialism.

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PROSPECTS FOR WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN IRAN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 80 pp 49-50

(Article by A. Mustafabeyli: "Certain Characteristic of the Workers' Movement in Iran")

(Excerpts) One of our readers, A. Borisov (from the city of Semipalatinsk) has asked us to speak about the workers' movement in Iran. We have carried out his request below.

Beginning in the early 1960's, under the pressure of the popular masses, the shah's government was compelled to start to carry out a complex of socioeconomic and political measures, designated as the "white revolution," or the "revolution of the shah and the people"; many of these measures directly or indirectly affected the working class.

At first the negative perception in the proletariat's consciousness of the monarchist regime began to be dulled, and the shah's authorities strove to support this tendency in every possible way. For this purpose the unified party known as the "National Rebirth of Iran" was created in 1975. According to the intentions of the authorities, it was supposed to unite the entire nation. And with this goal in mind, extensive use was made of the effect of mass suggestion, well-known in social psychology.

By taking part in the state-run trade unions, the workers gained the opportunity of expressing their critical attitude toward the actions of the entrepreneurs and even toward the governmental measures which affected their socioeconomic position.

The development of the consciousness of the working class was adversely affected by its low level of general education and by the presence within the workers' environment of an extensive stratum of persons from the rural areas. Also playing a negative role in the formation of the proletariat's class-consciousness were its youth and its lack of life experience, as well as experience of the class struggle. The entire conscious life of many Iranian workers was connected with the period of the "white revolution."

In analyzing the condition of the proletariat's mind set, it is extremely important to consider the political conditions under which it was formed.

The working class was deprived of practically all rights and freedoms. Any, even the most minor, insubordination was punished by law. Any disobedience to the despotic authority of the shah brought rough, physical punishment. Hence, for the Iranian worker to engage in the economic struggle (without even mentioning a political one) it was necessary to overcome a very complex psychological obstacle--fear.

And finally (here we touch upon the question of ideological influence on the proletariat's consciousness), under the conditions of the monarchist regime, when the National Party of Iran, which consistently spoke out for the interests of the laborers, and primarily for the working class and the peasantry, other democratic organizations as well were deep underground, the dissemination of progressive ideology in opposition to that of the shah was made extraordinarily difficult, and the force of its influence on the workers' minds was greatly weakened.

The factors examined by us conditioned the Iranian proletariat with a certain passivity. During the 1960's and early 1970's outbreaks by workers were rare, spontaneous, and did not go beyond the framework of economic struggle. However, such passivity could not be prolonged.

The strike movement of 1974--1975 testified to the upswing in the level of the proletariat's class consciousness.

The anti-shah, anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement which began in January 1978 was headed up by the only organization which had the possibility of acting under the conditions of the police regime, and hence capable of leading an opposition force--the clergy. It called for the overthrow of the shah, who had usurped power, deprived the people of all their rights and freedoms, and imposed a Western way of life which was alien to them. The oppressed popular masses were promised an unlimited democracy and an independent harmonious development, which, according to the words of the spiritual leaders, would fully correspond to the norms of the Shariat.

In its early days the revolutionary movement was represented by the petit and middle bourgeoisie, as well as by the democratic intelligentsia. It also encompassed certain groups of proletarians engaged in cottage-type industries. This fact is worthy of note. The cottage-type workers acted at a time when the factory-plant proletariat did not manifest the determination to join the struggle. However, they did not represent an independent force, but rather one which adhered to or even merged with the petit bourgeoisie.

Gradually the factory-plant proletariat were also drawn into the struggle. The strike movement, which began in September 1978, encompassed all sectors of industry, transport, and the service sphere. Mass strikes began in mid-October at the enterprises of the petroleum and gas industry. From the beginning of November on, most of the strikes were proceeding under decisive political slogans. In the consciousness of the working class there had

finally been formed a firm conviction in the need to overthrow the shah's regime, and this conditioned the persistence of its (the working class's) struggle.

The revolutionary struggle brought about a further rise in the level of the class consciousness of the industrial, especially the factory-plant, proletariat. A great deal of work in organising the workers, drawing them into the camp of the consistent advocates of an anti-militarist, democratic course has been carried out by the National Party of Iran. Its work has facilitated the formation of the class consciousness and the solidarity of the working class, as well as intensifying its political activism. Recently the workers have created many trade unions which actively protect their interests. And, finally, the most important thing: for the first time throughout the entire history of the workers' movement in Iran workers' councils have been created at certain enterprises, and they have taken into their own hands the management of all production.

However, the workers' movement is still suffering from a lack of organization and solidarity. Its further development depends, to a large extent, on whether conditions will be created in the country for the activity of a proletarian party and whether it will be able to attract the masses of workers to itself.

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ANALYSIS OF SHI'ITE TRADITIONS IN IRAN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 80 pp 59-61

Article by Ye. Doroshenko, candidate of Historical Sciences: "Iran: Moslem (Shi'ite) Traditions and Modernity"

/Excerpts/ It is doubtless true that the favorable soil for the anti-monarchist outbreaks of the Iranian people was prepared by a lengthy struggle of broad strata of the Iranian population against the shah's regime. Taking part in this struggle were workers, students, youths, and artisans. The role of the opposition parties and organizations, which functioned under illegal conditions, was significant. They included, in particular, the National Party of Iran, which exposed the shah's regime and the American imperialists who supported it and which nourished the political awareness of the Iranians.

In Iran, where for centuries religious traditions have been dominant, the influence of Islam in its Shi'ite tendency (Shi'ism) on the broad popular masses is very great. For them Islam is not only a religion--it is a way of life, precepts of a sociopolitical and economic nature, a code of morality and customs, popular hopes about social justice and equality, which were embodied with particular vividness in early Islam.

The mudjtahids comprise the privileged stratum of the ulemas.

Highly authoritative mudjtahids may express their own opinion and draw conclusions in accordance with the principles of Moslem law, and they may pronounce a fetwa--a precept which must be adhered to by all the members of the Shi'ite community. When a mudjtahid becomes particularly respected among the people, he is accorded the rank and title of ayatollah ("sign of God" or "divine sign"). In Iran out of 160--170,000 members of the clergy approximately 100 men are ayatollahs. The highest Shi'ite titles, ayatollah al-uzma (great ayatollah) and sejje at-taklid ("source of following," "source of imitation") are accorded to a few outstanding mudjtahids and ayatollahs. They all claim to have descended from the prophet Mohammed's family and that their genealogy derives from the great Shi'ite imams, also that they are sayids. The latter comprise a unique kind of caste, the members of which are connected by definite familial and social obligations.

The preaching of Moslem exclusivity, Islam's unique path of development, and Moslem ethics has always found a lively response among the middle urban élite and the Iranian peasants. In the eyes of the majority of the people Moslem morality was the criterion for the social appearance and behavior of the shah and the authority of the propertied classes. Therefore, the shah's attempt to implant in Iran the culture of the pre-Islamic period, as well as Western culture, his neglect of the so-called Moslem spiritual values evoked a protest from the Iranians.

Ayatollah Khomeini utilized the dogma and traditions of Shi'ite Islam as an offensive weapon, directed against the tyrant-shah and Westernization, as well as to defend 'Moslem spiritual values' and the sociological system, which would serve the interests of the 'unfortunate' or the oppressed majority.

If orthodox (Sunnite) Islam permitted rulers (calipha) to be elected and recognized the sovereignty of the secular authority, the Shi'ite clergy took an irreconcilable position on this question, referring to the basic doctrines of their own teachings. In accordance with Shi'ite dogma, which was formed during the seventh--ninth centuries, only the direct descendants of the 'holiest' family of the prophet Mohammed could become rulers of the Moslem community (imām). The doctrine of the Messiah has assumed particular importance among the Shi'ites. It originated in the ninth--tenth centuries during the period when the Abbasid Dynasty ruled in Iran. This doctrine proclaims that the last, the twelfth imam, the Mahdi (Messiah), mysteriously disappeared, was "hidden," and taken "alive into Heaven" (between the years 874 and 878), where he will remain until the Day of the Last Judgement, so that, after returning to Earth, he may establish 'true justice in accordance with Islam.'

Since those earlier centuries the imam Mahdi from his 'hiding place' has been ruling the Shi'ite community, functioning as the 'inner guardian of the Moslems,' who blindly believe in the coming appearance of the Mahdi. However, during the time when the twelfth imam remains "in hiding," the Mahdi's will must be carried out by persons whom he trusts or deputies (naib). Throughout all the periods of Iran's history the position of entrusted persons has always been claimed by the higher Shi'ite authorities, who, appealing to the doctrines of the hidden imam and the theocratic nature of higher authority in the Moslem world (the indivisibility of the secular and spiritual authorities, politics and religion), proclaimed the illegality of the secular authority.

As a result, this dogma has allowed the Shi'ite clerical élite to openly or secretly lay claim to authority or, at least, to participate in carrying out higher authority within the state. The doctrine of the 'hidden' imam thus contained within itself an "explosive" potential, since it allowed the ascription of legality to the opposition movement against the shah--the 'tyrant and usurper' -- and thereby to draw the fanatically believing Shi'ites into participation in the movement. But simply by themselves the dogma about the 'hidden' imam and the "illegality" of the rights of the secular ruler would scarcely have inspired the popular masses, if they had not been

accompanied by preaching about social injustice, reinforced by quotations from the suras and ayats (verses) of the Koran about the need to assist the unfortunate, punishments of the rich," and so forth.

Over the centuries the Shi'ite clergy cultivated among the people Shi'ite traditions which were certainly political in nature. They were based on the Shi'ite concept of the indivisibility of religion and politics and the "illegality" of secular rule before the advent of the Mahdi. In some instances, however, the clergy allowed the possibility of the temporary power of secular rulers, but therein it was presupposed that the Shi'ite authorities, as spiritual mentors, would be called upon to monitor the actions of the ruler in accordance with the norms of the Koran and the Shariat.

The Shi'ite tradition of political struggle and the confrontation between the Shi'ite clergy and the secular authority has made itself known on several occasions during various periods of Iran's history.

A particularity of the Shi'ite tradition consisted in the fact that in the national-liberation movement in Iran the Shi'ite clergy took an anti-imperialist position. One of the important sources for an analogous tradition was the doctrine of the jihad ("holy war" against infidels); it was the principal but not the only source of anti-imperialist feelings and moods of the Iranian people and the clergy itself.

The Shi'ite clergy's opposition to colonialism and imperialism was completely according to principle, since the Shi'ite leaders long, long ago recognized what a danger for Islam as a whole and for themselves personally lies hidden within the West's colonial policy in Iran. During the period of the Iranian bourgeois revolution of 1905--1911 the Shi'ite clergy took part in the anti-imperialist struggle, acting together with the national bourgeoisie, which had appeared in the political arena. Having issued a fetwa to the effect that the adoption of the Iranian constitution was agreeable to the hidden imam and did not contradict the Koran, it did not, however, during this period pursue the goal of overthrowing the monarchy but merely strove to limit its power.

As a result of the 1905--1911 revolution, the Kadjar were compelled to introduce a constitution in Iran. It proclaimed Shi'ism as the official religion of the state. In the absence of the "hidden" imam, his will was to be carried out by the five highest clergymen. In practice, however, this article of the constitution has not been realized until the present time.

While acting together with the people, the Iranian clergy did not forget about its own goals as well: in all cases it consistently struggled to increase its own power and its own influence on the country's sociopolitical life. During the period of Reza Shah's rule (1925--1941) the economic might and authority of the Shi'ite upper circles were significantly undermined. Refractory members of the clergy were harshly punished. Reza Shah

limited the monopoly of the Shi'ite clergy in the sphere of juridical procedures and education, and he curtailed the conduct of funeral processions during the month of Muharran in memory of the martyr's death of Husseyn--the prophet's grandson.

Over the extent of Reza Shah's entire reign the Shi'ite clergy remained his foe, albeit tacitly, and mosques were the only places where "disgraced" members of the clergy could be concealed, although Reza Shah sometimes allowed even mosques to be broken into.

Since the times of the Middle Ages the mosque has been for Shi'ites a center of religious, cultural, and political life. In mosques, of which there are now more than 80,000, people would pray, listen to sermons, and imbibe information about internal political events; they also entered into disputes with the mullahs, and it was actually only in mosques, by tradition having the status of inviolability (since the end of the 19th century this right has been enjoyed by only a few of the main mosques in Teheran, Qum, Mashad, and Isfahan), that one could openly express dissatisfaction with the existing regime.

The former Shah Mohamed Reza, the son of Reza Shah, strictly delimited the framework of the Shi'ite clergy's activity, introducing rigid controls over certain religious institutions. This intensified the clergy's dissatisfaction against the shah's dictatorship and against the shah, who was a faithful and obedient weapon in the hands of American imperialism and a "servant of the dollar," as Khomeini called him. Utilizing the "Messianic" doctrine of the hidden imam and the "jihad," Ayatollah Khomeini in his preaching demonstrated that the power of the Pahlevi Dynasty shahs was illegitimate and not sanctioned by the "hidden" imam, and that it was necessary to begin an irreconcilable struggle against American imperialism.

While he was in exile in Najaf, Khomeini continued to take part in the activities of the Shi'ite theological centers in Qum and Mashad. In Qum pamphlets were illegally disseminated in which Khomeini castigated the authoritarian regime in Iran, accused the shah and the government of not caring about improving the people's lives and of facilitating the increase of foreign influence in the country, and he demanded the abolition of the innovations which were in conflict with Islam and the Shariat.

In a religious and political treatise, the basis of which comprised a course of lectures which Khomeini delivered in Najaf, he set forth long before the Iranian Revolution of 1978--1979 his own viewpoint on the mode of rule in an Islamic state. As the Ayatollah pointed out, although Islam does not provide any precise explanation regarding the mode of rule during the period when the twelfth imam is in "hiding," for our times, by proceeding from the precepts of the Koran, Shi'ite traditions, and the great ideas of Islam's Medieval thinkers, it may be determined that the ideal of rule for the Moslem community is an Islamic republic. As Khomeini has proposed, this elected government is formed of three assemblies: the principal

group--the control council--issuing fetwa-precepts and exercises supervision over all the organs of power for the correspondence of their actions to "divine laws," for "no law except divine law will have any force in an Islamic republic," the legislative assembly (majlis), which will issue orders and decrees within the framework of the Koran and divine laws, and an executive group--the government. Khomeini, however, considers the "true government" in the present-day reality to be only "persons trusted by the imam," or the council of higher clergymen, who have received the "holy blessing" from the "hidden imam". Therefore, Khomeini is continually persuading the Iranian clergy of the indivisibility of the secular and spiritual power, calling upon them to exhibit political activism.

Of great importance in Khomeini's concept is the principle of theocracy for proving the necessity of granting limitless power to the "walayate fagih," that is, to the Shi'ite theologian-lawgiver, worthy of becoming the "source of imitation" for all laymen. Khomeini has proposed to create a council to issue fetwas for the discussion of certain problems, drawing upon specialists in a number of branches of knowledge, but the final decision must still remain with the "walayate fagih." It is precisely this opinion which comprises the basis of Article 110 of the new constitution concerning the "walayate fagih," granting him unprecedented, unlimited rights in the field of legislation, executive, and juridical power. Khomeini openly claims the role of such a fagih.

An important role in the propaganda of the anti-imperialist struggle has been played by the "jihad" principle, which Khomeini utilized in his calls to action. Herein he made use, with regard to the American imperialists, of the term "taguti," which is also in the Koran and which means "servants of the devil." This expression has also been used as applied to the shah, his close associates, as well as to foreign colonialists. The principle of the "jihad" has been actively accepted by the people thanks to the Shi'ite tradition of martyrdom. According to the Shi'ite legends, all 12 of the orthodox Shi'ite imams were martyrs: death for the faith, as the 40th sura of the Koran proclaims, means "the gates leading to paradise," for "this present life is only a creeping, whereas the future life is a permanent." In the interpretation of the Ayatollah Khomeini, the struggle against imperialism "purifies Moslems" and leads them to self-perfection.

In its activities the Iranian clergy makes extensive use of the Shi'ite tradition of "takiya" ("hiddianness," "secrecy"). The practice of "takiya," which allowed them to conceal their true convictions, arose among the Shi'ites during the period when they were a sect under constant persecution by the members of Orthodox (Sunnite) Islam. The Shi'ites took as their rule to hide their adherence to the Shi'ite faith. The tradition of "takiya," after being handed down from generation to generation, has been preserved to the present time. Thus, we do not know the names of many ayatollahs who are members of the Islamic Revolutionary Council, which carries out the functions of Iran's government. But meanwhile they are undertaking principle decisions which are coordinated only with Khomeini. Amid

circumstances of the strictest secrecy they prepared the military detachments known as the "Moslem Students--Followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini" and created the "Association of Teaching Theologians of Qum."

The Iranian people glorify Khomeini as an imam, which for the history of Shi'ism is an exceptional phenomenon. Of course, as I have already mentioned, the last and twelfth imam from the Alid clan, according to Shi'ite doctrine, is "hidden" and is scheduled to appear to people on the Day of the Last Judgment. However, with the tacit agreement of Khomeini, he has been given this title, although the Ayatollah does not identify himself with the Mahdi. But inasmuch as among Moslems the term "imam" has several meanings, including "prepared in prayer," "imam" with regard to Khomeini is used in the broad sense of the word, designating a spiritual leader of the Shi'ites. The Shi'ite traditions, which are firmly retained in people's consciousness, are being used by the clergy to mobilize the masses to struggle under the banner of Islam for national independence and sovereignty.

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NATIONAL

TREND TO FORMING COMMON SOVIET NATIONAL CULTURE

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pp 3-10

[Article by D.Ye. Yeremeyev: "The Significance of V.I. Lenin's 'Two Nations' Proposition for an Analysis of the History of the Oriental Culture"]

[Excerpts] One of V.I. Lenin's methodologically most valuable statements on the nation and national culture is his well-known proposition concerning the "two national cultures in each national culture" and even the "two nations in each contemporary nation" expounded in "Critical Observations Apropos the Nationality Question."

It should be emphasized straight away that V.I. Lenin invested in the word "nation" a broad meaning close to the concept of a "people" and to a value defined by the current term "ethnic community." In actual fact the nationality question was regarded by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, including V.I. Lenin, as a question pertaining not only to nations proper but essentially to all peoples of the world. Championing the right of nations to self-determination in his report on the party program at the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Congress in 1919, V.I. Lenin pointed out: "We cannot deny this to a single people living within the confines of the former Russian Empire.... All nations have the right to self-determination.... This description goes for a gigantic majority, nine-tenths of the world's entire population, for sure, perhaps 95 percent...."** Even earlier V.I. Lenin had included among such nations not only the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia but also the colonial Asian and African countries (in the work "Revolyutsionnyy proletariat i pravo natsiy na samopredeleniye" [The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination], which was written in 1915, for example).** As is known, many of these and

*V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 38, pp 158-159.

**Ibid., vol 27, pp 61-63.

others had not at that time taken shape as nations in our contemporary understanding of this term (that is, bourgeois nations or socialist nations). All this enables us to apply Lenin's statements on the nation to various types of ethnic communities made up of antagonistic classes, that is, not only the bourgeois nation proper (with which Lenin's "two national cultures" proposition deals specifically) but also the national groups of the precapitalist formations.

Class cultures within each ethnic community emerge, obviously, with the appearance of antagonistic classes. The primitive tribe as an early type of ethnic community existing in a primitive-communal system provides us with an example of an almost absolute unity and absolute community of culture. For in the primitive tribe, a tribe of preclass society, there are no classes, and, consequently, "two cultures" cannot take shape. But this unity of culture conditioned by classlessness derives from the undeveloped state of the primitive tribe and primitive-communal system.

The stage of early class formation is characterized by a sharp turning point in the history of the ethnic groups and their cultures. A qualitatively new, more developed and quantitatively larger community--the national group--takes the place of the earlier limited ethnic community--the tribe--but this community is divided into classes. Soviet historical science distinguishes two types of national group connected with definite formations--the slave-owning national group and the feudal national group.*

The culture of two antagonistic classes--the culture of the feudals and the culture of the peasants--are mutually counterposed in the culture of the feudal national group.

The antagonism between the feudals and the peasants is manifested most acutely in connection with the social and political protest of the oppressed masses. This is expressed in the emergence among the peasants of a different religious ideology than among the feudals and a different interpretation of religious dogmas compared with that officially recognized by the state. As is known, the philosophy of life of the Middle Ages was predominantly theological, and religiosity constituted an inalienable part of the peasantry's social mentality. Whence sectarian and "heretical" religious teachings were the main ideological form and "outer shell" of antifeudal popular protest. The Manichaeans, [mazdakity], Bhakti, Sufis, [karmaty], Ismailis and other oriental "heretics" of the Middle Ages expressed social protest in religious form: a single common feature constituting the basic content of their movements--the demand for equality (either of property or, in a more moderate form, equality before God)--is typical of all of them. Sometimes, at a certain stage of historical development, the class and social antagonisms even engendered the opposition and confrontation of different religions or

*Yu.V. Bromley, "Etnos i etnografiya" [Ethnic Group and Ethnography], Moscow, 1973, p 318.

religious persuasions. Thus Buddhism in China and Japan, Taoism in China and Shiism in Turkey, as religions of the lower orders, were counterposed to Confucianism in China, Shintoism in Japan and Sunnism in Turkey, which were the faiths of the privileged classes and social groups.

Another of V.I. Lenin's instructions concerning national culture, although also given primarily with respect to the bourgeois nation, is very important for an analysis of all these phenomena: "Each national culture has, albeit undeveloped, elements of democratic and socialist culture for each nation has working people's and exploited masses whose living conditions inevitably engender a democratic and socialist ideology. But each nation also has a bourgeois culture (and still a Black Hundred and clerical culture in the majority)--and not in the form merely of 'elements,' moreover, but in the form of the prevailing culture. For this reason 'national culture' in general is the culture of landowners, priests and the bourgeoisie.... The significance of the slogan of national culture is determined by the objective correlation of all classes of a given country and all countries of the world."* Indeed, the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited peasantry and the plebeian, that is, laboring population of the cities represented the most radical force of all the "heretical" movements of the Middle Ages. In the 18th and, particularly, 19th centuries these movements assumed nationwide proportions in Asian and African countries. They were not only of an anti-feudal but also anticolonial nature. Such were the demonstrations, uprisings and wars of the Wahhabis in Arabia, the Sanusis in Libya, the Babi in Iran, the Mahdists in Sudan, the Taipins in China and so forth. All these religious-liberation movements may be considered precursors, as it were, of the national liberation struggle of the oriental peoples which developed in the 20th century.

When the formation of the bourgeois nation is completed, the development of a formally common national culture also concludes. Bourgeois nationalism struggles precisely for this formal community of culture, deliberately glossing over its dual content. Bourgeois nationalism campaigns for the introduction of a single national language and for it to be purged of foreign words, advocates the introduction of a single ethnonym (if there has not been such hitherto), "burns with love" of national history, revives many forgotten phenomena of national culture, introduces age-old national names and surnames and national calendars and changes the names of cities, provinces and the country in a national spirit. Thus in Japan, a developed oriental capitalist country, or say, in Turkey, a country with a middle-level development of capitalism, the bourgeois and the worker not only speak approximately the same language (if we exclude professionalisms and jargon words and expressions) but dress in the same standard suits (if we exclude the quality of the material and the tailoring).

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 24, pp 120-122.

But class antagonism, the antagonism of interests and world outlooks, engenders in the formally common culture of the bourgeois nation two cultures different in content, of which Lenin's proposition concerning "two national cultures in each national culture" directly speaks.

Only the socialist nation, which does not have antagonistic classes, possesses a unity of culture both in form and in content. The culture of the working people's masses, which is enriched with all that is foremost and progressive that has been created in the culture of a given nation in its past, becomes the prevailing and, subsequently, sole culture of the socialist nation. This, in particular, is grounds, apart from other reasons of a socioeconomic and political nature, to speak of the moral-political unity of the socialist nation. In addition, the socialist content of the culture of different socialist nations facilitates their rapprochement and mutual influence. It is precisely this content which is determining the decisive trend toward the formation in the future of a single Soviet socialist nation, a trend which is already being manifested currently in the USSR, where a new historical community of people--the Soviet people--has evolved.

So, the use of Lenin's proposition concerning "two cultures" with reference to an analysis of the history of culture in different types of ethnic community (and not only in the bourgeois nation) is a highly fruitful methodological instrument. The essential differences in the culture, spiritual and material, of the antagonistic classes constituting this ethnic community or the other are revealed with this approach.* However, in emphasizing the existence of two cultures within such an ethnic or national culture it is essential to also take account of the reality of the existence of each ethnic community (whether the bourgeois nation or feudal or slave-owning nation group) as a historically evolved--and stable, moreover--community of people. Marxism-Leninism regards both classes and ethnic groups as elements of the objective structure of human society. The correlation and interconnection of the different classes in each type of ethnic community and, equally, of the different cultures is a historical phenomenon, and the development of this phenomenon reflects a law of dialectics--the law of the unity and struggle of opposites.

*In each national culture the cultures of nonantagonistic classes and social groups, for example, the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, have certain specific features and nuances, which is manifested not only in ideology but also in the broader sphere of spiritual culture, which embraces everyday life, morals and traditions and, sometimes, in material culture, for example, clothing, interior design and so forth.

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SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES AKTIV ON MACHINE BUILDING

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Speech by Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP, at a meeting of the party-economic aktiv of workers of the machine building and tool making industry of the republic; date and place not specified]

[Text] Comrades! The June (1980) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which took place recently and has become an important event in the life of our country, planned a precise and scientifically based program of preparations for the 26th Congress of the party. In carrying out its directives and providing maximum concentration on the most important directions of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we always keep in mind the fact that the most important task during this current stage, as was once again emphasized at the Plenum of the Central Committee, is the comprehensive improvement of the efficiency of production and the quality of work. In his report General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev designated the further acceleration of scientific-technical progress as the first among the basic factors on which the accomplishment of this large-scale task depends. Such an approach together with a consistent strengthening of labor and state discipline and with an increased productivity of labor will make it possible for us to further cultivate the economic potential of the country and strengthen its defense capacity.

The latter question acquired particular urgency in the current political situation, which has been brought about in the world by the efforts of reactionary circles in the West and also Chinese hegemonists and their stooges. They are supporting corrupt regimes, bands of mercenaries in a number of countries. They organized a vile and thoroughly deceitful boycott of the Moscow Olympics in attempting to utilize the international Olympic movement for their own political purposes. And what came of all this stir? In Afghanistan, as you know, the situation is normalizing, the forces of democracy and socialism are becoming firmly established. The imperialists and the Chinese hegemonists did not succeed in transforming the country into their own bridgehead for carrying out their far-reaching plans against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The scheme of

of the imperialist circles and the present Washington administration failed miserably with respect to the boycott of the Olympic games. President Carter's policy with respect to the economic boycott of our country has suffered a complete failure.

If we are to talk about damage, then one can safely say that the ones who are suffering from this political adventure are basically its authors and organizers and not our country and the countries of the socialist community. Today it has become a rule that reason, endurance, and the good will of the people will overcome. And much credit for the development of such an atmosphere can be given to the consistent work of the Central Committee of our party, the Politburo of the Central Committee, and Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev personally.

However, we do not forget the fact that competition between two socio-economic systems, between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism, continues. Here the acute class struggle goes on not only in the area of ideology. It also concerns economics, science, and technology. Soviet science, as you know, has demonstrated its priority in the most varied fields -- in the mastering of cosmic space, the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and so on. In accomplishing the decisions of the party and the government it is important for us to strive for an accelerated reorganization of the work of all sectors of the economy on the basis of the most recent elaborations of our scientists and specialists and on the basis of world achievements of the scientific-technical mind. Thus we present one of the chief directions of our activities toward the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The work of today's meeting of this party-economic aktiv is directly in line with the resolutions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. We collectively, in a business-like atmosphere, discussed, or more precisely stated, outlined the basic paths of development for the machine building industry in the Georgian SSR, which in the forthcoming five-year plan will more solidly be in line with the national scale of production.

It is no accident that questions concerning the development of the machine tool and tool industry and machine tool building on the whole have been and are at the center of the attention of our party and government, the Politburo of the Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally and are without any exaggeration the subject of their constant concern. These sectors are having an ever increasing effect on the economy and on those basic trends which are manifested in it. On them primarily depends the technical reequipping of key economic sectors to correspond with modern requirements, and they, in particular, determine the rate of scientific-technical progress in social production and the development of productive forces.

In our own experience we have found out how correct this formula is. If today the republic is confidently fulfilling the planned tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan with respect to the most important parameters of social-economic development, it is, to a significant degree, the result of the tremendous growth of the machine building sectors.

Naturally, we communists of the republic look at the successes as a good basis for the further development of its economy and as a starting point for that large amount of urgent work which awaits us in the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is connected with the final overcoming of still existing lags behind the average national level in a number of most important economic and social indicators. We are making every effort to eliminate this gap in the very near future, by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

This means that it will be necessary for us to further accelerate the growth rate of industrial group "A". In the forthcoming five-year plan there are plans to construct a large number of new enterprises and redesign and expand already existing enterprises. A significant portion of them are of a machine building nature. It is intended to direct more than one billion rubles' worth of capital investments toward this sector.

As an analysis shows, we have all the objective prerequisites for the development of this sector. In a short period of time large machine building centers have been developed, qualified personnel have been trained, a large surplus of scientific ideas has accumulated, and the network of scientific-research and design organizations are being constantly expanded in the Georgian SSR. That is, we have already accumulated definite, and I would say, good traditions. The necessary labor resources are also present. Thus, favorable prospects for the development of this sector are opening up.

We are paying particular attention to the accelerated development of the machine building and tool making industry, which will play a decisive role in improving the efficiency of machine building production. The enterprises of Minstankoprom (Ministry of Machine Tool-Building and Tool Industry), which are situated throughout the territory of the republic, are conducting purposeful work on the further development of production, raising the technical level and quality of manufactured products, and, without a doubt, have achieved positive results. The participants at the meeting of the aktiv reported on the majority of them.

At the same time, there still exists in this sector a number of unresolved problems, on which essentially depend the improvement of the efficiency and quality of work. While speaking at the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev seriously reproached workers of the machine building industry and noted that the technical level and quality of certain types of machinery and equipment do not meet contemporary requirements, the metal-output ratio of metal working equipment remains exceptionally high, the utilization coefficient of metal is low, and the amount of waste lost to shavings is unjustifiably large. These observations are very real for the Georgian machine builders also. It is important to draw the correct conclusions from them and reorganize the work.

If these directions are clear, they are precisely defined in the resolution of the CPD Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On significantly raising the technical level and competitive ability of metal works, heat, casting, and wood working equipment and tools".

The respected Minister of the USSR Machine Building and Tool Making Industry Anatoliy Ivanovich Kostousov is participating in the work of this meeting of our aktiv. In his report he threw light on the state of affairs in the sector and talked about its prospective developments, including development in our republic, in light of the resolution of the party and the government. Therefore, allow me to discuss a few key questions without going into a detailed analysis of the activities of our machine building enterprises and corresponding design organizations and services.

It must be said that the enterprises of this sector got off to a fairly good start at the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan. In the first 2 years all the plants accomplished the planned indicators, the established growth rates were even exceeded by 0.7 points, product quality improved considerably, the productivity of labor increased by 13 percent, and other technical-economic indicators also grew.

However, as time went on the Tbilisi Machine Building Production Association and the Tskaltubo Tsentrallit Plant let us down. Because of them, in 1978 a break-down of the basic development indicators of the sector was permitted for 3 years of the five-year plan. This occurred in spite of the fact that other plants were able to keep up with their assigned tasks. On the whole, the enterprises of the sector lagged behind the planned growth rates for this stage of the five-year plan by 7.6 points. In 1979 the gap increased to 14.4 points. Such a situation and also difficulties in material-technical supply, about which comrades, including Comrade D. N. Mokshov, correctly spoke, caused reduced production volumes for 1980 in comparison with the level for the five-year plan. The expected rate of growth now does not exceed 117.4 percent and is turning out to be 18.2 points less than what was envisaged by the original calculations. Apparently, with the exception of the Plant imeni Kalinin not one enterprise of the sector fulfilled the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Anatoliy Ivanovich Kostousov, in analyzing the reasons for the unsatisfactory work of the machine building industrial associations, emphasized the fact that its directors neglected to introduce the achievements of science and technology, to raise the qualifications of their workers, and to organize production. To this can be added essential deficiencies in the resolution of social welfare questions and the failure to organize socialist competition. Such an attitude is characteristic of not only the associations, but also of other enterprises. And its negative results are reflected in the productive as well as social sphere. For example, the turnover of personnel in the enterprises of the sector is very high.

At the same time, barriers, whose elimination, to a significant degree, depend on other organizations and the above-mentioned areas, prevent the normal operations of the labor collectives. Thus, individual production

projects were constructed and redesigned at various times in the Tbilisi Machine Building Production Association, but an overall, valid production has still not been developed. Reconstruction which was begun at the Tbilisi Tsentrolit Plant last year is being accomplished very slowly. There are serious misgivings that it will not be completed by the due date -- 1982. Back in 1978 miscalculations were disclosed in the planning and the construction of the basic and auxiliary facilities of the Rustavi Tsentrolit Plant. How long must we put up with similar mistakes made by the designers and builders? In the future we must radically reorganize work in this respect. In the final count it is not only important to equip a project on time, but it is also important to provide for the manufacture of necessary products in a correct product-mix and to guarantee the efficient operation of the collective. With the scale of construction we are planning for the 11th Five-Year Plan this problem will become one of immediate importance. The party committees are obligated to keep its resolution under tight control.

Comrades!

We have already talked about the exclusive attention that will be given to the question of accelerating scientific-technical progress in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Speaking candidly, we have not yet dealt with this problem in real earnest. And it is here that we can find the inexhaustable source of our reserves.

It is on this account that justifiable complaints have been heard. The party committees, as a rule, remain on the sidelines as far as the introduction of new equipment, inventions, and rationalization is concerned. This is one of the main reasons why work on the mastering of progressive technical processes, the mechanization and automation of production, and the reduction of the proportion of manual labor in heavy operations is still being slowly introduced in the enterprises of the sector located in the republic.

It would be interesting, for example, to know how the party committees of the machine tool building association reacted, indeed not only the party committees, but also the management, to the fact that certain lathes and machine-tools had become obsolete and noncompetitive with respect to their technical-economic indicators. Or -- what did the party organization do to master the operation of automatically controlled and programmed pipe-cutting machine-tools, circular grinders, and facing grinders. The time needed for their completion was almost doubled.

Our demand made to the party committees was to deal with the questions of new equipment more objectively and concretely and to strictly control administrative work in this direction. This is a most important element, on which depends the fulfillment of the planned indicators and the improvement of working conditions, and if you want, an improvement in the prestige of working professions. Therefore, any innovations appearing in the sector should be thoroughly analyzed as applied to the given area of production and, if it is possible, be used as equipment.

Increasing the service life of machinery, machine-tools, and tools is one of the methods for improving operational efficiency. The new, improved methods of reinforcing parts serve this purpose. The method of surface reinforcement by means of ionic nitriding and a powerful laser beam presents itself as one prospective method in the machine-tool building industry.

Only one ionic nitriding unit provides an economic effect amounting to hundreds of thousands of rubles annually. This method is being successfully introduced by advanced machine building enterprises in our country. There is a unit for ionic nitriding in the Tbilisi Machine Tool Building Production Association. It was obtained more than a year ago, but it has yet to be put into operation. This, comrades, is a luxury we cannot afford.

Comments have been called upon to exert their influence in this matter. Evidently, we in the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers must thoroughly investigate all questions and provide an analysis from the party and the government.

This is all the more urgent since many new types of equipment and prospective technology are being developed and a host of valuable ideas is being born in the republic. I will not attempt to enumerate all these innovations and useful recommendations. Comrade T. N. Loladze presented us with an interesting description of them. The most important thing is to know that it is not sufficient just to be first, to have good ideas, and so on. The most important thing is to organize the mastering and introduction of existing progressive proposals.

We are still not taking full advantage of the opportunities presented to us by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on improving the economic mechanism for the significant improvement of this work and increasing the financial interests of scientists as well as production workers in the introduction of new equipment.

Comrades, it is finally time to begin to look at science as a direct productive source in society. These words are not just a slogan. This is a practical question. And it is important to support scientists not in words, but in deeds, and render them comprehensive assistance in the introduction of their projects. The future of the machine-tool building sector, to a great degree, depends on them. And they, it must be said, are contributing much. For example, there are many useful projects being developed in the departments of machine building at the Georgian Polytechnic Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, which is headed by Academician and Professor Teymuraz Nikolayevich Loladze of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences. The staff of the department consists of 21 coworkers. In the last 3 years alone the economic effects from these projects exceeded 1 million rubles.

A unit for trimming and cutting the ends of pipes proved itself to be advantageous at the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant. Much has been done for the Tbilisi Aviation Plant imeni Dimitrov and the Machine Tool Building Production Association.

The new method of low-temperature precision grinding, which is intended for the processing of flat surface parts made of extra-hard materials, ceramic, semiconductors, and so on, is worthy of special attention. This method was worked out at the department of the institute.

The collective of the department has conducted extremely interesting research on the development of hard alloys without tungsten and with a low tungsten content for metal cutting tools, and also wood working tools made of extra-hard materials.

Is it possible to stop here? We are convinced that these projects are of serious economic importance and, therefore, we must consider how to organize their industrial uses.

However, the effectiveness of scientific research in the area of machine-tool building could, without a doubt, be significantly greater in the republic. We have great expectations from the Design and Scientific-Research Institute of Machine Tool Building. At one time projects in this institute were conducted with purpose and on a large scale. But then the collective lost many positions and lost its face. Here departments with a scientific profile were closed down. The new management of the institute must make the subject plans correspond with those tasks now facing the sector. The technical reequipping of machine tool building plants by means of introducing advanced technology and progressive equipment and the improvement of production management should become the basic direction in this work. We believe that in a very short time the collective will significantly improve its operational efficiency. We in the Politburo of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic must examine the problems of development in this institute in the context of the prospects of this sector.

The institutes within the system of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the State Committee on Science and Technology in the Republic, and the Georgian SSR Ministry of Higher Educational Institutes can and should give more support to the sector. Here the amount of work on machine building is still small.

We need better coordination in the work of the scientific-research subdivisions.

In mastering the production of lathes with numerically programmed control we could link up our other enterprises to the work of the Elva Scientific-Production Association. Only an overall approach and a comprehensive utilization of the creative potential of the republic will make it possible for Georgian machine tool building to develop to a high scientific-technical level.

Comrades!

In the 11th Five-Year Plan we will have to continue work on putting intra-production reserves into circulation. Each party committee should now begin to think about how to further develop useful initiatives for the purpose of discouraging lagging production workers, brigades, sections, and shops and how to improve one's work in the area of strengthening labor and state discipline. It is necessary to learn how to make better use of each working minute and existing equipment.

Losses among machine tool builders here are still high. There is much absenteeism, the work shift coefficient is slow to improve. We usually complain about the fact that there are not enough automated machine tools and assembly lines. Indeed, they are few. But the ones we do have are not operated to their full capacity. According to our figures there are more than 60 machine tools with numerically programmed control in the Tbilisi Machine Tool Building Production Association. And significant reserves exist for improving the efficiency of their utilization. It is possible, for example, to increase the number of products manufactured on machine tools with numerically programmed control. It is necessary to intensify the specialization of production sections and to provide for a well-defined organization of administrative services.

One of the most important reserves in our machine tool building plants is the expansion of the output of consumer goods. The attitude toward them, frankly speaking, has been one of indifference. Three out of six enterprises in the sector did not fulfill the semiannual plan. Only 69.7 percent of the task was accomplished by the Tbilisi Tsentrrolit Plant.

Recently the republic Committee of People's Control and Gosstandart (State Committee for Standards) inspected the quality of those articles which are being produced. More than 30,000 screwdrivers, 17,000 bench lathes, more than 21,000 ladders, and so on were rejected. This without mentioning the fact that what should have been produced was not being produced.

More than once have I repeated the fact that the manufacture of goods for the people is not only an important economic but also socio-political task. A few days ago at a meeting of the Central Committee it was stated that monetary circulation has slowed down in many rayons. It is clear that we must find an answer to this problem. And the primary duty is to increase the output of consumer goods.

The work in this direction is one of the points of a large program, which is intended for improving the social and cultural atmosphere on the whole. It must be noted that the housing and living conditions of our machine tool builders still leave much to be desired. Very little housing is being constructed, there are not enough dormitories. This causes serious personnel problems. We are grateful to the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Making Industry for the fact that in the 11th Five-Year Plan capital investments for nonproductive construction will increase significantly.

There is no doubt that without decisive steps to satisfy the social and cultural needs of workers, those large-scale tasks which stand before the machine tool building sector will not be mastered.

Much has already been said about these tasks at our meeting. Nevertheless, I would still like to emphasize a few of them.

You know that in October of last year the Central Committee of the Georgian CP and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On measures for the further development of production, raising the technical level and quality of products in enterprises of the machine tool and tool making industry in the Georgian SSR". As can already be seen from the title of this document in essence it corresponds with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on machine building. However, the tasks facing us today have become even greater.

I have already directed your attention to the fact that in the 11th Five-Year Plan the role of the Georgian SSR in Soviet machine building will increase appreciably. Primarily, this will take place as the result of the construction of a gigantic machine tool building plant in the area of Marneuli. This question merits special discussion.

What is this plant with customized and built mechanical processing units, which will be erected in the 11th and 12th five-year plans?

In the first place, the Marneuli Plant will cover a gigantic construction area, the likes of which have never been seen in Georgia. Capital investments amounting to more than 700 million rubles will be invested here. It will be comprised of manufacturing sections, each of which is approximately equivalent to our largest machine building centers.

In the second place, the Marneuli Plant will be a unique production facility, of which there is nothing analogous in CEMA-member countries or in developed capitalist countries. This kind of a plant can only be erected by a great socialist state with a planned economic system. I think that the products which will be manufactured here will make a huge impression on the specialists sitting in this hall. The multioperational, general-purpose units in horizontal and vertical configurations are intended for the manufacturing of articles weighing several hundred tons.

In the third place, the Marneuli Plant will in essence be a new city. According to the most modest calculations up to 17,000 people will be employed at this enterprise. That is, there will be colossal social-economic changes in Marneuli itself as well as in the region and throughout the whole republic.

Finally, the Marneuli Plant will have the largest party organization in the republic. And our duty from the very first day will be to make it revolutionary. We are convinced that many new initiatives and interesting innovations will come from this plant in the future.

All that I have just said was not just for effect. Each of the above-mentioned directions will determine the nature of those tasks which we must accomplish.

The construction program is outlined as follows:

The volume of capital investments in the years 1981-1985 will amount to 215 million rubles, including 20 million in 1982, 35 million in 1983, 65 million in 1984, and 95 million in 1985;

Construction-assembly projects amounting to 150 million rubles will be completed in the years 1981-1985 and will be divided as follows: 15 million in 1982, 30 million in 1983, 45 million in 1984, and 60 million in 1985.

This means that at 1982 at one site 15 million rubles will be spent on construction assembly work alone. This is the first such venture in our country. And by the end of the five-year plan the sum will amount to almost 60 million rubles per year.

It is expected that there will be a partial acceptance of capacities in the years 1984-1985. Thus, the work will be of a crash-program nature. And we, of course, will overcome. Although our Ministry of Construction has no experience in the construction of such a large-scale project, the party organization of the republic has in recent years worked out effective forms and methods for mobilizing Communists and all the workers for the task of resolving questions of equal complexity.

A group of our specialists has already visited Tol'yatti, Naberezhnyye Chelny, Volgodonsk, and several other large construction sites where they familiarized themselves with the organization of the construction of large industrial projects. Much material was collected. This, of course, is gratifying. But, in our opinion, it is already time to get down to business. Time will not wait. The beginning of construction work has been set for 1982. And this means that we must already make maximum use of the current year for preparatory measures. And Comrade G. Z. Mirianashvili, who emphasized that the work must literally start from tomorrow, is right.

Highly qualified specialists, our most creative forces rich in talent and experience, have been called upon to design the plant. They are from the institutes, Giprostanok (State Planning Institute for the Machine Tool Industry), which is the general designer, Promstroyprojekt (All-Union Trust of Construction Planning of Industrial Establishments and Structures of Ferrous and Nonferrous Metallurgy and Machinery Manufacture), which has been assigned the task of general subcontractor for the designing of the construction of the plant, the collectives of PromtransNIIprojekt (All-Union Scientific-Research Institute for the Development of Plans of Structures and for the Organization of Industrial Transportation), Elektroprojekt (not further identified), Soyuzvodokanalprojekt (All-Union Design Institute for Prospecting and Designing Outdoor Water Supplies, Irrigation, and Hydrotechnical Installations), the Kiev All-Union Institute of Welding Production, the

Leningrad All-Union Designing and Manufacturing Institute, and many others. We are certain that they will be not sparing of their knowledge, they will provide for the highest level of planning, which in turn will guarantee high quality in the construction of this special-purpose plant and its subsequent successful operation. I believe that it will be a great honor for any specialist to participate in the development of this gigantic plant. It is not always that an individual, even the most talented individual, is given an opportunity to participate in the development of this type of project.

Without hesitation we must determine the best way to apply the creative forces of the republic -- the institutes Gruzgosproyekt [not further identified], Gruzgiprogorstroy [not further identified], Gruzgiprokommunstroy [Georgian SSR Institute for the Planning of Municipal Construction], and other planning organizations connected with the prospecting for and preparation of a base for construction and assembly workers -- to the task at hand. All this work must be precisely assigned, comrades.

Now the most important thing is not to lose momentum and define the area for the construction of the plant and employee housing. We, by the way, chose the area yesterday. Anatoliy Ivanovich agrees, if I may say, that it is indeed a good choice. It would be desirable, in addition to everything else, that the new plant and its microunits for housing would be beautiful and pleasing to the eye and that their outward appearance would represent the last word in architecture. And it is not at all necessary that it should cost more. It is possible to construct in a rational manner, it is possible to construct comfortable and beautiful facilities while keeping the cost down. We must not repeat the mistakes of previous years -- that is, to leave a city without any prospects. The design should take into account opportunities for further development with respect to industrial and residential zones. This is very important, comrades.

It should be noted that we have already somewhat dragged out the question of creating a board of directors for this project, which will function as a client. It will soon literally have to resolve questions with the support of Union organs.

The question of financing the construction work still remains open. Apparently, a decision must be made here also. Time is flying with respect to this matter. If we are to proceed from the experience gained from similar projects, we must in Marneuli in a very short time erect a housing construction combine, a reinforced concrete plant, a concrete mixing plant, and many other facilities. In addition to this, there must be parallel construction of housing and public service facilities.

The republic Ministry of Construction has its own proposals with respect to the creation of a special contracting organization. Comrade N. A. Medzmariashvili presented a partial report on this. It is necessary to take a good look at these proposals and come up with an optimum solution to the problem. The republic Ministry of Automobile Transportation and Highways, Gruzglavenergo [Georgian SSR Main Power Supply Administration], and the

Administration of the Transcaucasian Railroad should determine their own program of action. On them depends the uninterrupted development of construction and the future operations of the enterprise. Yes, other ministries and departments also, I see many of our ministers and directors of republic organizations sitting in the hall, should determine their role in this important work. It is known that interrelations between the clients and the contractor frequently turn out to be strained and abnormal. For some reason this usually happens. We have accumulated much experience in overcoming the barriers dividing them. I have in mind, above all, a skillful party management of construction. The staffs of the CP Central Committee created in recent years at all large construction sites in the republic have proven themselves to be advantageous and have worked out effective operational forms and methods. This matter has been well handled in the chemical and metallurgical projects in Rustavi and Zestafoni, which are directed by Comrade G. V. Kolbin, and in Kutaisi where, in essence, a new plant is being built and where guidance is being provided by Comrade Z. A. Chkheidze, and so on. I believe that this experience will turn out to be very useful in Marneuli also. The scope of the construction and its pace dictates that the party leadership is in this instance justified in taking the lead at the highest level. Apparently, we must accomplish overall coordination at the level of the first secretary of the Central Committee, and the operational management of the staff is to be placed on the Deputy Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Comrade D. L. Kartvelishvili. This is a most likely and appropriate proposal.

I will keep in mind that the staff will also include other comrades. It is certain that Comrade Kolbin and Comrade Chkheidze will actively assist us. And since this discussion concerns the organization of a staff, I would like to emphasize that it is important to create a capable, normally functioning working organ and check out its mechanism.

According to present practice representatives of the Union ministries are included in the composition of the staff. USSR Deputy Minister of Construction S. K. Tsaruk'yan is presently in the hall and has been of considerable assistance in Kutaisi and Zestafoni. The staff involved in the reconstruction of the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant includes the deputy minister of the USSR Motor Vehicle Industry. Similar systems must also be applied in Marneuli. This will accelerate the resolution of all the urgent problems and will make it possible to eliminate new problems without any red tape. Such an approach is absolutely necessary.

Our new plant is a plant of the future. Its products must be competitive on the world market and correspond with the best examples of analogous production in the 1990's or exceed them. The multioperational units and equipment systems, which will be produced here, will be equipped with control systems operated by workers and auxiliary operations controlled by EVM [Electronic Computers]. Such a high technical level brings up the question of creating corresponding scientific subdivisions and a wide spectrum of scientific research at the enterprise. It is only in this way that the collective will

be able to secure advance positions in machine building for itself. This is borne out by the example of many large machine building enterprises and foreign firms. A similar approach is justified also because there exists in the republic an opportunity to train the necessary research personnel, designers, engineers, and so on in sufficient numbers.

The question of personnel, comrades, at this time acquires special, decisive importance. I mean both management personnel as well as intermediate personnel. And our workers and civil servants. We are obligated daily to make certain that they are not only honest, work loving people, but also highly competent, energetic workers, who will thoroughly analyze all the details of the tasks entrusted to them. This, understandably, concerns not only the Marneuli Plant, but all our enterprises.

A tremendous responsibility will be placed on the directors of plants, particularly those of Union subordination. Today they will go directly to their own ministry and Union organ, independently they will be able to decide certain questions even of a republic level. This, apparently, will give them new functions. And this means that we must select for the post of director the most qualified specialists possessing organizational talents, the broadest range of interests, and erudition, people who are at the same time able to boldly look at the future and grasp the basic trend of development in the sector and in the economy of the whole region. It is at just such a level that we must educate our directors.

We have already seen the results of an absence of the above-mentioned qualities in the example of the Tbilisi Machine Tool Building Production Association. To a significant degree, because of the former management, the association did not fulfill the plan, and the collective fell into a state of disarray. Moreover, this was reflected in several indicators of the sector throughout the republic. The words "dolzhnost'" [office, position], and "dolg" [duty] are words from one and the same root, stated Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev. We remember that wise thought. The higher the position, the greater the official responsibility and the more reliable the person. Without any unnecessary haste we are obligated to select the right candidate. I think that it will become necessary for the sectorial departments of the Central Committee and the party committees to restructure their work with respect to management personnel while taking into account these requirements.

We expect more from the chief engineers of enterprises and the directors of technical and economic services. They have been called upon to direct policy in their own area, objectively evaluate the effectiveness of the method and forms of management, to present the necessary recommendations, and put them into practice.

In recent years the role of the middle management director in production -- chiefs of shops and sections and foremen -- has increased sharply. If we want to achieve essential improvements, we must first of all provide for an exemplary order in middle management. It is here that all our resolutions,

recommendations, and orders are put into practical application and this is where each useful idea bears fruit. The middle management director must not just be a knowledgeable specialist, he must not only have at his command the complexities of technology, he must also be sensitive to and understand the mood in a microcollective, he must establish a close contact with his people, understand their interests and concerns, and train the youth.

He must remember that raising the technical level of the articles being manufactured is unthinkable without well-developed qualifications on the part of those who are directly involved in their manufacture and who every morning wake up to their own machine tool. With each day our workers are required to acquire greater professional skill, sometimes even engineering knowledge. This is the only way that we can guarantee the competitiveness of our products on the world market.

Here, it goes without saying, this matter is not limited to the foreman. All these questions must be found within the field of vision of the party committees and republic organs. These are, w'thout exaggeration, key questions. We must once again carefully analyze the existing system for improving the qualifications of workers. We must once again think about how to better organize the training of our management personnel, all the way to the highest level. This work must be conducted at the level of the latest achievements of science and technology, must be aimed at the future, and must not become bogged down in yesterday's problems or it will lose all sense and become cluttered with elements of formalism.

The above acquires exceptional significance for the machine building sectors. As soon as we recognize that they today are determining the level of scientific-technical progress, we must make certain that the most competent and knowledgeable workers and specialists and management personnel are involved in this work.

If we consider that the Marneuli Plant will begin production in 1985, we must during this current academic year think about how to provide the necessary number of engineers. Enterprises will have a need for highly qualified machine tool operators, welders, smelter operators, and so on.

I must remind you that our program for the 11th Five-Year Plan in the area of machine building will not be exhausted by the construction of the plant in Marneuli. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers calls for the rebuilding of the Smelting Equipment Plant imeni Kalinin.

There are also plans to construct an engineering-laboratory facility at the Manufacturing Design and Scientific-Research Institute of Machine Tool Building.

Moreover, we are planning to develop branch enterprises. I ask you to give particular attention to this problem. Today exceptional importance will be given to the questions of organizing branches. The industrialization

process taking place in agricultural areas is resulting in positive improvements in their economic and social life. We must succeed in bringing significant numbers of the able-bodied population into social production. However, we do not intend to tear them from the land. On their own personal plots of land they produce agricultural products, produce their own supply of meat and milk, for example, and sell the rest to the state. There are many such examples. At the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant hundreds of comrades live and work in a rural village, sometimes even in a kolkhoz, and are at the same time considered to be exceptional workers. The same can be said with respect to the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant. The machine tool building association is also creating a branch in Tsalka. With this measure we are accomplishing an important social task. We are consolidating people and delivering them from many complex problems connected with the procurement of housing and the satisfaction of many other needs. The development of branches, thus, is of absolute importance.

In a word, the changes which we are anticipating in the area of machine building, whatever forms they may take, attest to the fact that we must, without delay, undertake the adoption of overall measures for providing enterprises with qualified workers and specialists.

Naturally, the Marneuli Plant is of primary importance. The vocational and technical education system will play an important role in its fate. Comrade S. T. Rigvava understands this task correctly. Hundreds of qualified construction and assembly workers will be needed at the construction site. How and where will they be trained? The republic Ministry of Construction and Gruzglavmontazhspetsstroy [Georgian SSR Main Administration for Specialized Assembly Work] together with the State Committee on Vocational and Technical Education must begin construction on a vocational and technical school for this purpose.

The matter of providing the plant with workers is of no less importance. We know that within the system of vocational and technical education in the republic there has been accumulated a considerable amount of experience in the training of personnel for metal working enterprises. This means that it is important to make optimum use of it. Already in the very near future it will become necessary to construct a modern vocational and technical educational facility in Marneuli. The question of its construction must be resolved in such a way that the first graduate in machine tool building will come out of this school in 1984, that is, the moment the plant begins operation or before. It must be assumed that corresponding organs will approach this matter with a full degree of responsibility.

Without a doubt, party, Soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations will play a special role in the accomplishment of developmental programs in the area of machine tool building. On them depend the skillful mobilization of the masses, the creation of the necessary revolutionary atmosphere, the development of socialist competition, the improvement of its forms and methods, as is required by the recently published resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On socialist competition for a worthy commemoration of the 26th Congress of the CPSU".

Evidently, it will be necessary for us to create a working group which based on the results of today's meeting will work out a concrete plan of measures for the development of machine tool building in general and the development of the Marneuli Plant in particular.

Our future plant of heavy machine tools will be a structure of an all-Union scale. And for the republic this matter is of primary importance. Such a task will be impossible to accomplish locally. All participating ministries and departments, all labor collectives, all party committees, and all the obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party must support the construction workers who will be building this gigantic plant. Near the future plant there is a powerful industrial base, and the necessary labor resources are present. Much, therefore, depends on the skillful actions of the Marneul'skiy Raykom. The Tbilisi Gorkom, the Rustavi Gorkom, and the party committees of other industrial centers will play a special role. Without their business-like assistance such a plant will not be built or put into operation.

In my opinion the Marneul'skiy Raykom must already today precisely designate its tasks with respect to the stages of construction on this heavy machine tool plant. It is necessary to consider that the process of forming a youthful collective is always complex and contradictory, especially a collective of such size. Therefore, it is important from the very first day to establish constant control over the assignment of personnel and to staff the construction site with experienced communists and people who enjoy confidence and authority among their fellow employees.

The structure of the future party organization of the plant itself and of the construction organizations must be thought out in detail. These are very important questions. As I have already noted, this plant will have the largest primary party organization in the republic. All its cells must be strengthened, the best people must be placed at the head of each primary group, and a lasting core must be formed around them. It also makes sense to send already-formed party groups from other enterprises to work in the shops. This can lighten the workload considerably in the initial stage.

We, comrades, must make certain that our work is not based on one single burst of enthusiasm. Enthusiasm, of course, is necessary. But it must be founded on a good, material-technical base and daily working conditions. We have already discussed the question of apportioning plots of land for specialists and workers. It is important to provide both moral and material incentives.

The republic komsomol can and should have a decisive voice in the erection of this machine tool building plant. I hope that the Central Committee of the Georgian LKSM [Lenin Young Communist League] is already working in this direction. Indeed, this construction site of the future is intended for the last decade of this century. And who else but youth should be concerned with it and determine how they will participate in this matter of national importance. The new plant will be the pride of our generation,

will symbolise the flight of the Georgian economy into the 1980's. But it will also spread its wings into the 1990's. And it is not precluded that today's komsomol members, who will erect this plant, will occupy key posts in it. The construction site will become for them an excellent training ground, a school for mastering a trade, and a school of social growth.

All of this is very important for the life of the republic and for its socio-economic growth. The scope of our success in the future depends on this. This is why it is important for all of us to creatively and thoroughly think out how we are to achieve the creation of such a situation which will make possible the timely and qualitative fulfillment of the responsible tasks of the party and the government.

In the name of all those here today I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Anatoliy Ivanovich Kostoumov, the minister of the machine tool and tool making industry. It is for us an honor that he in particular made the proposal to erect this gigantic machine tool building plant in Georgia. Close, creative contacts have been established with Anatoliy Ivanovich. He has visited the republic many times, given useful advice and recommendations, expresses constant interest in the state of affairs in the enterprises of the sector entrusted to him. And gives steadfast support to us in the resolution of the complex questions connected with the strengthening of our industrial potential.

First Deputy Minister of Construction in the USSR Serafim Karpovich Tsaruk'-yan is participating in this meeting of our party aktiv. This is his second visit to Georgia in the last month, graphic testimony to the fact that interesting and useful forms of cooperation with the Union Ministry of Construction have manifested themselves in recent months. We also have good personal contacts with Minister Georgiy Arkad'yevich Karavayev. We have accumulated experience in joint work on the rebuilding of metallurgical and chemical projects in Rustavi, the Zestafoni Ferroalloy Plant and the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant, and in the erection of new large enterprises. We hope that this kind of cooperation will make it possible for us to honorably deal with the vast-new task facing us with respect to the plant in Marneuli.

I can assure you that the Communists of Georgia are up to this task of the party and the government. The experience accumulated in economic management in the republic in recent years convincingly demonstrates this.

In conclusion I would like to say that today's meeting and the business-like and very useful speeches will, to a great degree, predetermine the successful resolution of problems connected with the development of the machine tool building sector. And this program which we have accepted for the 11th Five-Year Plan, however busy it may turn out to be, will be completed with honor and will facilitate further socio-economic progress in the republic as well as throughout all of our great country.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN UKRAINE IMPROVED THROUGH MONITORING PUBLIC OPINION

Kiev BUD DZHARUDEN LENINIZMA in Russian No 11, Jun 80 pp 10 - 13

[Article by I. Tsail'yev, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party (nepropetrovskiy obkom). "For High Effectiveness"]

Excerpts' Definite experience in the complex planning of ideological work has been accumulated in the oblast. The necessity for such planning is stipulated by the very essence of ideological and political indoctrination which forms in workers a knowledge not only of today's specific tasks but also of the prospects for society's development. The presence of realized ideological work goals for the future provides an opportunity to orient oneself correctly in one's daily work, helps one to separate the main items from the secondary ones, and skillfully see to the carrying out of assigned tasks. The more varied the employed forms and systems of ideological influence are and the richer the ideological and political life itself of the Soviet people is, the larger are the demands imposed on the planned organization of ideological work. The nature, content and effective period of ideological and political indoctrination plans change from year to year. Whereas formerly monthly plans predominated in this matter, at the present time the plans are being drawn up for a longer period -- a quarter, a year, several years.

Meanwhile, the shortcomings in this important matter have still not been overcome. It is no secret that uniform mass measures, conducted according to the principle "as if it could be forgotten" and without an idea of the final result, still predominate in the foundation of the indoctrinational activity of many party organizations. Therefore, it is no accident that we often encounter the paradoxical phenomenon where many different measures are conducted in a collective, but there are no practical results.

Life and practice shows that a qualitatively different approach toward the planning and organization of political indoctrinational work -- the incorporation of methods which would ensure positive results -- is needed. The CPSU Central Committee decree on improving ideological work orients us to this. Questions concerning the thorough study of the actual situation in

collectives and the revealing of factors influencing its changing and the carrying out of completely specific ideological measures based on this, are on the day's agenda.

We in the oblast have definite experience in studying the awareness level of the masses, the needs and interests of different population categories, and public opinion. The workers' letters to different organs, the questions asked of lecturers and speakers, and individual and group discussions with the people are the primary sources for information on the attitude and needs of the masses to which we regularly resort. The unified political days, during which 6,000 - 7,000 leading workers meet with a 500,000-strong audience of workers and obtain considerable information on the attitudes and needs of the people and unsolved urgent matters, provide a large volume of information. A thorough analysis of statistical data and information of every sort and kind has become mandatory. Based on such an analysis for example, graphs, from which it could be seen during what month of the year and during what days of the month the violation curve "jumped" and what was the age and length of service of the people who were more or less involved in this, were compiled in a tire plant. The party and social organizations of the enterprise made specific decisions in accordance with this.

Sociological work is gradually taking shape in the oblast. We now have the social institute and 30 groups and laboratories, attached to party gorkoms and raykoms and in VUZ and enterprises, engaged in sociological research. We want to solve the question of creating a permanent sociological laboratory.

The effectiveness of sociological research increases as experience is acquired. Its data is being used on an ever wider scale when preparing material for the bureau and the plenums of party committees, when solving various questions concerning the social and economic development of collectives, when organizing the ideological and political indoctrination of workers, and when directing socialist competition.

A careful analysis of the work performed and the results obtained led us to the thought to achieve a stated decrease in negative manifestations. Specific forms and methods for this work were formulated in the party obkom bureau's decree, "On the Effectiveness of the Bagleyeskaya Rayon Party Organisation's Work in the Moral Indoctrination of the Workers and in the Struggle Against the Antipodes of Communist Morality." The main purpose of the decree--its content was given in the oblast press-- is to ensure a sharp turn toward increasing the work collectives' role in the struggle against negative manifestations, and -- based on this -- to eliminate the discrepancy which sometimes exists between the knowledge acquired in the political enlightenment system on the one hand and the violation of the norms of communist morality and the rules of socialist society on the other hand.

At the present time, questions concerning moral indoctrination are being discussed everywhere during the plenums of party gorkoms and raykoms, meetings of the party aktiv, and in primary party organisations. A broad system

of measures both in the plan for improving the influence of public opinion on strengthening the moral health of our people and in the plan for the practical execution of totally concrete ideological acts, as being outlined in the decisions which are being adopted. I will mention some of them.

We consider the work -- which was commanded by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee -- of our oblast party organizations in publicizing and affirming the Soviet way of life to be effective. Public organizations, ideological establishments, creative unions, and all propaganda and agitation activist categories have been involved in it. Thanks to this, we have managed to expand it quite widely, skilfully and effectively from the very beginning. Recently, the main stress has been placed on affirming the norms and values of the Soviet way of life in the daily affairs and actions of the people. This is being done on the basis of the complete use of all forms and systems of ideological influence integrally combined with the solution of specific tasks in the oblast's social, economic and cultural development during the 10th Five-Year Plan. In this regard, I would especially like to point out that the striving of the people to observe the norms and rules of the Soviet way of life has begun to assume the appearance of socialist obligations for work collectives, and their ideological support is being transformed into the main front in the struggle for the citizens' moral health.

In order to study thoroughly the processes of forming an active and vital position in our workers, broad sociological research was conducted this year in the oblast together with the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociological Research and with the CPSS Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences. The material obtained during it is now being processed in electronic computers. The results, which we will get, will provide an opportunity to organize indoctrinational work on the basis of a deeper knowledge of the real social developmental processes of work collectives -- and this means more effectively.

In the work of affirming the Soviet way of life, we allot a large role to the practical carrying out of the initiative of the best propagandists in the city of Dnepropetrovsk who have turned to their colleagues with a proposal to achieve a condition where each student in the political education system will work and live completely in accord with the norms of the Soviet way of life. In order to consider the work done and analyze its results, they keep journals and diaries which contain a considerable amount of data that characterizes the study, social and work activity of the students and their observance of the norms of communist morality and the rules of a socialist society. We are now working at having these principles also adopted by political information speakers, agitators, tutors, and other activists who conduct the indoctrination of the people.

The introduction of the system for regulating the moral and psychological climate in the collective, which was born and tested for many years in the Dnepropetrovsk Machine Building Plant, has begun in large enterprises. This system helps to solve all kinds of production and living questions effective-

ly strengthen mutual understanding between directors and workers, and create favorable conditions for highly productive work. At the basis of the system is an analysis of the workers' questions, critical comments, and proposals. Collection of the material takes place in two ways: with the help of automatic tape recordings of telephone communications which are received from a caller after he dials the number "05", and by using special message cards posted after completion in containers set up at the entrances of the plant, near the dining hall, and in other busy places. The questions, comments and suggestions which arrived through these channels were entered in a special journal and then sent to the responsible parties who examine them in a five-day period and inform the service director and workers about it. Special attention is paid to forming in each worker the opinion that his critical message was treated kindly and attentively, that his comment will be brought to the attention of the collective's leadership.

This year, all the oblast work collectives will acquire social passports or references. They will contain a social demographic analysis of the composition of the workers; technical and economic indicators of production activity; data on personnel turnover, work discipline, moral make-up, and the occupations of workers; and much more -- in all, 150 positions. In the city of Dnepropetrovsk, social passports for 116 micro-rayons in the oblast center, which have been assigned to organize mass political work where people live, are also being kept in addition to the social passports of the work collectives.

As first experiences show, the social passports provide on the whole rather complete information about achievements in the social-economic and public-political spheres of activity, on the nature and scale of negative manifestations, on the trends in the development of the different indicators in the vital activity of collectives, etc., in order to catch the objective and subjective dependence in all this and to outline sufficiently concrete economic, social, cultural, political, and indoctrinational measures calculated to provide quite definite results. The processing of all the indicators in these passports is done with electronic computers.

Quite a few complicated tasks face us in the area of ideological work among rural workers. Here, many party organizations are still only searching for more acceptable forms for political indoctrinational work with such rapidly increasing categories of rural workers as construction personnel and workers in the service area. We are working poorly for various reasons with the population of small villages. We have still not managed to completely master migratory processes and methods to attach youth to the village -- although extremely reassuring changes for the better have recently been detected. Last year, we held a detailed and highly principled discussion on these and many other problems -- in light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee's decree on improving ideological work -- during the oblast scientific and practical conference entitled "Ways To Improve Ideological and Indoctrinational Work in a Village Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism." Incidentally, this conference was conducted on the base of the

Nikopol'skiy Rayon which has been designated along with several other rayons in the country by the CPSU Central Committee as a strong point for studying the mechanism for the influence of economic, social and ideological factors on the development of a modern village.

The highly effective conduct of ideological work is only possible on the basis of a thorough knowledge and analysis of the consequences of carrying out each specific indoctrinational action, the rates and scales of carrying out the most effective ones of them, and the ability to consider the influence of social and economic factors on the indoctrinational process. This can only be fully achieved by means of mathematical methods using electronic computers. In order to solve this task, we and the Ukrainian SSR's Academy of Sciences' Institute of Cybernetics are developing and introducing automated information systems into the oblast. The raykom is the first to receive an automated information system. Next year, the automated information system for the gorkom will be completed, and then we will introduce an automated information system into the obkom.

Our ideological commissions, which are now functioning in all party gorkoms and raykoms, are coming forward as an active helper for party committees in the complex solution of indoctrinational tasks and in raising the effectiveness of ideological, political, work, and moral indoctrination. They are taking active part in the long-range planning of ideological and indoctrinational work; ensuring coordination of the indoctrinational efforts of public organizations, ideological establishments and economic subunits; studying public opinion on this or that problem; summarizing and disseminating the best experience in ideological work; taking an active part in preparing questions for examination during party committee sessions; and solving other questions.

The composition of the ideological commissions includes the following sections: Marxist-Leninist education; mass political work; cultural-enlightenment and mass sports work; legal indoctrination; for work among the population where they live; atheistic indoctrination; international and military-patriotic indoctrination; for work among youth; trade union orientation and work indoctrination; mass information media; and visual agitation. Two functional groups have also been created which are attached to the commissions: for studying public opinion and sociological research and for summing up and disseminating the best experience in ideological work.

Thanks to the ideological commissions, the party gorkoms and raykoms have received an opportunity to carry out the planned ideological actions with greater strength and in a more coordinated manner, delve more deeply into the content of the measures being conducted, and influence the rise in the effectiveness of ideological work more actively.

A complex system for guaranteeing the effectiveness of ideological work began to take shape in the oblast based on the general incorporation of the

mentioned and other forms for working with people. Thanks to it, we are receiving an opportunity to program quite specific ideological and indoctrinational work goals, achieve their carrying out in a definite time, and obtain the planned results. This problem is unbelievably complicated and difficult, but very interesting. We are planning to discuss it during an oblast scientific and practical conference entitled "The Problems of Effectiveness in Ideological Work Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism". Recommendations of this conference will become a concrete action program for the oblast party organization in the task of further raising the effectiveness of the work of forming the new individual -- the active builder of communism.

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REGIONAL

TAJIKS BUILD TV NETWORK IN PAMIRS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TAJIKISTANA in Russian 31 Aug 80 p 4

(Article by unidentified Tajik News Agency correspondent: "Television Antennas Lit"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface)

[Text] /Above the Vanchob mountain stream which rises deep in the Medvezhiy glacier, the first television antenna in the Vanch canyon has been erected. Here assembly of yet another--the fifth in the Pamirs--television station in the Ekran system was completed./

The Vanch television station is equipped with modern technology and its operating range is significantly greater than that of the television stations in Ishkash and Murgab. Transmissions from Central television will be received not only in the rayon center but also in some nearby towns in the alpine valley.

The specialists of the republic radio broadcasting center worked excellently installing the complex equipment. One of the points of socialist commitment for a worthy welcome to the 26th CPSU Congress has been fulfilled. Instead of the two television stations planned for the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the assembly workers put four new stations into operation.

1015
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REGIONAL

NEW OBLAST FORMED IN KIRGHIZIA

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR:
"Concerning the Formation in the Kirghiz SSR of the Talasskaya Oblast,
Manasskiy and Chatkal'skiy Rayons and the Partial Change of the
Administrative-Territorial Division of the Oshskaya Oblast and the
Ala-Bukinskiy, Kirovskiy and Talasskiy Rayons"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR resolves:

1. To form the Talasskaya Oblast in the Kirghiz SSR; to establish the city of Talas as its center.
2. To create in the Talasskaya Oblast the Manasskiy rayon incorporating into it the Kayyndinskiy, Mayskiy, Pokrovskiy and Uch-Korgonskiy sel'sovets [village soviets] and the "Kirgiziya" sel'sovet of the Kirovskiy raion. To incorporate the population points of Nyldy and Sary-Bulak of the Ivano-Alekseevskiy sel'sovet of the Talasskiy rayon into the Kayyndinskiy sel'sovet.

To establish the village of Pokrova as the center of the Manasskiy rayon,

3. To establish the village of Ivano-Alekseevka as the center of the Talasskiy rayon.

4. To create in the Kirghiz SSR the Chatkal'skiy rayon by incorporating into it the possovets [settlement soviets] of Sumsar and Terek-Say and the Kanysh-Kyyanskiy and Chatkal'skiy sel'sovets of the Ala-Bukinskiy rayon of the Oshskaya Oblast.

To establish the village of Dzhany-Bazar as the center of the Chatkal'skiy rayon.

5. The Talasskaya Oblast is to include the Kirovskiy, Leninpol'skiy, Manasskiy, Talasskiy, Toktogul'skiy and Chatkal'skiy rayons and the cities of Kara-Kul' and Talas.

6. To exclude from republic subordination the Kirovskiy, Leninpol'skiy, and Talasskiy rayons and the city of Talas; and from being part of the Oshskaya Oblast, the Toktogul'skiy rayon, the city of Kara-Kul', the possovets of Sumsar and Terek-Say, and the Kanysh-Kyyanskiy and Chatkal'skiy sel'sovets of the Ala-Bukinskiy rayon.

7. To confirm the boundaries of the Oshskaya and Talasskaya oblasts and of the Ala-Bukinskiy, Kirovskiy, Manasskiy and Chatkal'skiy rayons.

[Signed]

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR,
A Duyashevev

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR
Zh. Tumenbayeva.

Frunze, 3 September 1980

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REGIONAL

TURKMEN BORDER GUARDS ARREST TRESPASSER

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 31 Aug 80 p 4

[Report by Sr Lt V. Abramov: "An Anxious Midnight"]

[Text] When Sergey Tsibul'skiy, chief of a border detail which, under his command, had arrested a violator of the state border, was asked to do a time study of the actions of his colleagues who had distinguished themselves, the junior sergeant sat for a long time over clean sheets of paper. After more than an hour he had written two incomplete pages and, handing them over to a staff officer, said with embarrassment:

"We handled the trespasser faster...."

Well, every person acquires experience and perfects his knowledge, skills and ability in precisely the work in which he is most often employed. For the border guards this main work is their tour of duty protecting the motherland's border. The majority of the border soldiers does not have a great deal of practice of the detection and detention of trespassers. Knowing that the borders of the world's first socialist state are reliably protected against all surprises, our enemies rarely run straight and in the open. On the contrary, they display considerable inventiveness. But at a critical moment each border guard is able to keep cool, display real vigilance and genuine skill and insure the inviolability of the protected sector.

That night, having received the order for border protection, the border detail of Jr Sgt S. Tsibul'skiy and privates first class A. Belyakov and N. Nikolayev moved forward on foot, as usual, to the appointed sector. It was a quiet August night. [Razlapistyye] clusters of [grebenchuk] stood out in the diffused, faint moonlight, throwing off quaint shadows. A winding brook, called a stream in accordance with local dimensions, flowed along a mountain gorge. The darkening intensity of the summer sky with the chaotically scattered twinkling of the stars radiated tranquility and coolness. Nocturnal nature is beautiful!

But the soldiers did not have the time to admire the mountain landscape at length. They had arrived at their duty area. Sergey Tsibul'skiy spent a few minutes giving each border guard an assignment, warned them of the need

for high vigilance and the observance of camouflage measures and assigned the points of dispersal. The tour of duty had begun.

Earlier this sector was considered particularly tense. Even a few years ago unbidden guests frequently attempted to cross the border by taking advantage of the natural features, the thickets of [grebenschuk] and the permanent waterway of the mountain brook. Such attempts have not been observed recently, but the personnel which went to the troubled, anxious sector always operated with redoubled vigilance.

Midnight. Silence. The border guards listen attentively in this silence. What is hidden behind it? The clearly audible barking of dogs was suddenly heard somewhere not far away, and then the sound of a bell was added to this. The noise came closer.... Jr Sgt Sergey Tsibul'skiy decided to report the suspicious sounds to the outpost. Hearing out the detail chief, the outpost officer in charge ordered:

"Check it out. Observe utmost caution both in covering the border line and in checking out the source of the noise."

The soldiers did not have to be cautioned about the latter. Each of them had repeatedly headed a detail for protecting various sectors of the border and had a great deal of experience of operations under various conditions of the terrain. Only Sergey Tsibul'skiy had not served at the outpost long. He is an instructor of the dog unit and he had on a leash a ~~fearsome~~ German shepherd named Anchar, who, together with his master, is entirely capable of handling any, even the most inventive, trespasser.

The detail stealthily crossed the brook. Using undergrowth camouflage and moving silently, the border guards reached a narrow valley. Similar territory began beyond it. A herd was proceeding by the low ground to our rear. The soldiers spotted an unknown person not far from it.

"Belyakov, Nikolayev, get round the valley and cover the border line!" the chief of the detail ordered.

Keeping down, the border guards ran in the direction of the mountains. It was open terrain, and the moon clearly lit up their silhouettes against the background of the withered grass. They had already covered more than half the way when they were spotted by the stranger, who was constantly looking around in all directions. Guessing that he would not have time to escape back, across the post--the border guards had overtaken him--he rushed for cover in the opposite direction, intending to escape along another hollow.

But the trespasser had not run 100 meters before there stood before him Sergey Tsibul'skiy with his faithful Anchar. On receiving the report on the detention of a trespasser, an emergency-alert group headed by Sr Lt A. Sikorskiy left the outpost and delivered the unbidden guest to the subunit. And the detail continued its tour of duty until dawn, until the arrival of a new peaceful day.

When I asked a participant in the arrest who, in his view, had distinguished himself the most that anxious midnight, he said:

"The motherland has entrusted us with protecting its boundaries, and we are all equally responsible to it, and it is incumbent upon us to justify this high trust. We are all equal here, and it is impossible and unnecessary to assess which of us has done more for the common cause. Each was in the right place, each made his contribution."

Perhaps it really is difficult to pick out anyone--all acted smoothly, precisely and skillfully. Thanks to Jr Sgt S. Tsibul'skiy and privates first class A. Belyakov and N. Nikolayev, the USSR's state border remained, as before, locked.

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October 3, 1980

D.J.S.

